

SOCIAL FORCES

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THE VOCABULARY OF SOCIOLOGY

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THE self-consciousness of any field of study becomes especially apparent in its vocabulary, the phraseology which it uses in dealing with its materials. Many things beside the subject matter itself are revealed in its speech. One may discover by means of it the company it keeps, and the areas of thought which it shares with its closest of kin. The origin and construction of its terminology reveal its obligations and indebtedness. The distinctiveness and clarity of its concepts reveal its degree of maturity and the extent to which it is entitled to be called a science.

As knowledge has increased, man's verbal tools of expression have also increased. As he has specialized in particular fields necessity has compelled increasingly specialized vocabularies with which to express his enlarging knowledge. We have long since become familiar with the evidence of this fact in the distinctive dictionaries of law, medicine, and technology.

Sociology also has built up a vocabulary of its own, a terminology especially required to give range to the widening demands of its discourse. Eventually it, too, may require a dictionary of its own. An outline of its linguistic repertoire will

perhaps serve to indicate the line of its advance.

In the following pages are listed more than thirteen hundred terms (excluding cross-reference duplicates), which are somewhat arbitrarily offered as the working vocabulary of sociology. The list has been arrived at by the simple but tedious process of going through the generally recognized literature of sociological theory, and sifting out its characteristic terms. Many of them are expressions which appear in the everyday tool-kit of every member of the fraternity; some are found infrequently, or are confined to a single writer. Some are no longer used at all but are included here because of the place they hold in earlier writings.¹

The whole constitutes a sort of mobilization of our linguistic forces, that their nature, extent, and variety may be

¹ The purpose of this compilation originally was to give a detailed exhibit of sociological terminology which would afford a body of materials from which to prepare the "Catalog of Concepts" which appears as Table No. II of Chapter IV of the writer's *The Concepts of Sociology* (D. C. Heath & Co., 1931). The two lists must not be confused. The other is a carefully chosen body of more or less definite scientific concepts; this one is a very general bird's eye view of *lingua sociologica* as a whole.

displayed at one review. This being the case, no fine-drawn distinctions will appear as to border-line terms. It is purposed to give an extensive rather than an intensive tabulation. The single consideration for the inclusion of a term is the pragmatic one of whether or not it has been used in "a sociological sense" by one who is a recognized writer in the field.

The list does not claim to be fully inclusive nor perfectly discriminatory. No attempt, for example, has been made to include by name all the multitudinous *groups* that occur among men. (The few that have been included are there for some special reason of conceptual significance.) Neither would there be a practical limit if we should include by name all of the *processes* that take place, since every activity of whatever sort involves some sort of a process.

This *Vocabulary* is, moreover, logically quite incomplete. The possible combinations of terms is virtually unlimited, mathematically speaking. Practically every process or condition that is specified as "individual" or as "social" could also be listed under its opposite, and under various synonymous terms. Certain common adjectives could be made to apply to many words which do not appear in the schedule. For example, we have as much right logically to speak of "gang" or "family" *prejudice*, as we do to speak of "race" *prejudice*. Again, only a few of the hundreds of "attitudes" are specified that might be given room. These suggest but

a few of the many amplifications that could consistently be made. It is clear that if we should list all of the possible, or even reasonably logical, variations, our sociological dictionary would be quite a sizeable volume in itself.

Why, then, the "inconsistency" of the partial and incomplete columns that are here shown? Why not a complete tabulation while we are about it? The answer is that human language in its actual development and use is not a logical but a spontaneous growth. Its words have appeared as they have been needed, and usage has been the sole arbiter as to their correctness and their span of life. The speech of sociology is no exception to this rule. Broad gaps will be found in the following lists by one who seeks a logically complete scheme. This *Vocabulary* has sought to present not what ought to be, but what in actual fact *is* the language of the subject.

Doubtless there are omissions, some of oversight and some of intent, which might seem glaring to another compiler. Some items have perhaps been included which another judge might decree to have no place here. Probably it would be impossible to secure a complete agreement on any compilation that might be suggested, but the one which follows will provide a working basis for further study.²

² The compiler of this *Vocabulary* will appreciate receiving from readers suggestions as to other terms which should be included when the list is revised. Kindly state exact source.

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Cross-indexed for convenient reference

except for terms qualified by the following adjectives

social	anti-social	super-social
societal	extra-social	unsocial
societary	non-social	individual
	sub-social	

A

absolutism	initial a.	ameliorate, -ed, -ing, -ive, -ion,
abstract, -ion	intransitive a.	ameliorism
a. imitation	marginal a.	amoral action
a. social consciousness	non-reciprocal a.	anabolism, social
acceleration	reciprocal a.	anarchism, -y
accidental imitation	set-for-a.	anatomy, social
accommodation	social a.	anethical action (activity)
a. group	thwarted a.	animism, -tic
acculturation	transitive a.	animatistic
achievement	adapt, -ed, -ing, -ive, -ation	anonymity, -ous, -ousness
collective a.	a. growth	antagonize, -ed, -ing, -ism, -istic
individual a.	active a.	a. cooperation
social a.	co-a.	a. effort
acquiescence	constrained a.	anthropo, andro
acquired	group a.	a. centric, -ism
a. attitude	individual a.	a. cracy
a. characteristic	passive a.	a. morphic, -ism
a. pattern	social a.	anthropoid, -al
a. personality	adhesion	anticipate, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive
acquisitive, -iveness	adjust, -ed, -ing, -ment	antipathy
a. struggle	individual a.	anti-personality
social a.	internal a.	anti-social apperception, mass
action; activity; activism (practically all of the terms applicable to <i>process</i> apply to <i>action</i> also.)	mechanism of a.	appetitive force
a. pattern	overt a.	applied sociology
achievemental a.	personal a.	appreciate, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive
adjustmental a.	reciprocal a.	approach
amoral a.	social a.	approbational society
anethical a.	adverbial attitude	appropriation, social
anti-social a.	affectional force	approval
aspects of social a.	affective behavior	aptitude
coincidental a.	affirmation	area
collective a.	agglomeration	a. of sympathy
concerted a.	aggregate, -ation	a. of understanding
corporate a.	congregate a.	culture (al) a.
creative a.	genetic a.	functional a.
dynamic a.	primary a.	habitation a.
expressive a.	secondary a.	interest a.
final a.	social a.	marginal a.
functional a.	aggression, -ive	natural a.
impulsive a.	aid, mutual	artifacts
incidental a.	alliance	ascendant, -cy
individual a.	alter	a. submission
	altruism, -istic	individual a.
	a. force	personal a.
	amalgamate, -ed, -ive, -ing, -ion	social a.
		aspects of social activity

assimilate, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive	autonomy, -ic, -ous	tropistic b.
compound a.	a. attitude	unpremeditated b.
social a.	culture (al) a.	being
associate, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive	aversion	human b.
a. community	individual a.	non-social b.
a. tendency	social a.	single human b.
compound a.	avoidance	social b.
cooperative a.	axiological	sub-human b.
devisive a.	a. obstacle	binding; bond
expansive a.		mutual b.
functional a.	balance	reciprocal b.
preferential a.	social b.	social b.
purposive a.	balked disposition	biohom
simple a.	base, culture	biological self
unitive a.	behavior, -ism, -istic	bio-social environment
volitional a.	b. pattern	blended modification
stavism, -istic	b. process	borrow, -ed, -ing
atomize, -ism, -ation	b. sequence	breeding,
attention	affective b.	in -b.
focus of a.	attitudinal b.	out-b.
preferential a.	autocratic b.	
attitude, -inal	coincidental b.	C
a. behavior	collective b.	capillarity, social
a. pattern	competitive b.	case
a. self-consciousness	concurrent b.	c. study
acquired a.	continuous b.	caste
adverbial a.	covert b.	catastrophic change
autonomic a.	customary b.	category, -ic, -ical
derivative a.	emotional b.	c. contact
emotional a.	familial b.	cause, -al, -ality, -ation, -ative
familial a.	functional b.	individual c.
imitative a.	group b.	initial c.
individual a.	human b.	marginal c.
inherited a.	imitative b.	multiple c.
permanent a.	implicit b.	plural c.
primary a.	impulsive b.	single c.
retroactive a.	individual b.	social c.
secondary a.	inner b.	central, -ization, -ize
social a.	instinctive b.	c. culture
typical a.	intellectual b.	c. race
unconscious a.	internal b.	de-centralization
attract, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive	native b.	re-centralization
individual a.	overt b.	centre, -culture
social a.	pathological b.	centrism
authority, -ative	pluralistic b.	ego c.
a. institution	psychic b.	group c.
a. social	psycho-social b.	ceremony, -ial
individual a.	random b.	change
social a.	rational b.	catastrophic c.
auto-suggestion	singularistic b.	genetic c.
autocracy	social b.	individual c.
autogenetic selection	sub-instinctive b.	negative c.
autogeny, -ous	symbolic b.	positive c.
automatic	sympathetic b.	social c.
a. behavior	traditional b.	telic c.
a. imitation		

character, -istic, -ization	collision	conceptual pattern
acquired c.	colonize, -ed, -ing, -ation	concert, -ed, -ing
individual c.	combine, -ed, -ing, -ation	c. action (activity)
social c.	commensalism	c. mind
checks, variable	commercialize, -ed, -ing, -ation	c. volition
choice	common; communal	conciliate, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive
personal c.	c. mindedness	concourse
social c.	c. purpose	concrete imitation
circular, -ate, -ation, -ize	communicate, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive	concur, -ed, -ence, -ent, -ive
c. reaction	mechanism of c.	c. behavior
vertical c.	c. self	emotional c.
circumstantial pressure	communism	rational c.
civilization	community	condition, -ed, -ing
dynamic c.	c. organization	c. reflex
static c.	associate c.	c. response
class	federate c.	social c.
c. conflict	compensate, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive, -ory	conduct
c. consciousness	mechanism of c.	individual c.
c. interest	compete, -ed, -ing, -ition, -itive, -tory	social c.
c. prejudice	c. behavior	confederate, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive
c. struggle	c. contact	confirmation
c. thought	c. cooperation	conflict, -ing
c. mind	c. solicitation	c. group
social c.	cooperative c.	c. situation
classification, social	institutional c.	class c.
cluster, -ed, -ing	personal c.	covert c.
co-acting, -ion, -ive, -ivity	social c.	culture (al) c.
co-adapting, -ation, -ive, -ivity	complex	major c.
coalesce, -ence, -ing	culture (al) c.	mental c.
code	individual c.	primary c.
moral c.	social c.	race c.
social c.	trait c.	revolutionary c.
coerce, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive	transportation c.	secondary c.
individual c.	compliance	conform, -ed, -ing, -ity
non-violent c.	component	congenial
social c.	c. group	c. society
cohesion, social	c. society	c. trait
coincidental behavior	component -constituent society	conglomerate, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive
collective	composite environment	congregate, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive
c. achievement	composition	c. aggregation
c. action	demotic c.	consanguine, -ous, -ity
c. behavior	purposive c.	c. group
c. consciousness	social c.	c. organization
c. egotism	compound, -ed, -ing	conjunction, -ive, -ure
c. feeling	c. assimilation	conscious
c. learning process	c. association	c. attitude
c. mind	c. group	c. imitation
c. opinion	c. process	c. resemblance
c. product	c. society	c. selection
c. psychology	compromise	c. social effort
c. representation	compulsion	consciousness
c. response	conation	c. of difference
c. telesis	concentrate, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive	c. of likeness
c. thought	concentric diffusion (or spread)	c. of kind
collectivism, -ity		class c.
human c.		collective c.

conversationalized c.	rational c.	c. base
ethnic c.	social c.	c. center
individual c.	super-social c.	c. complex
public c.	convention, -al, -ization, -ality	c. conflict
race c.	c. imitation	c. control
self c.	conversationalized consciousness	c. convergence
social c.	convergence, culture	c. diffusion
consensus	converse	c. district
conserve, -ed, -ing, -ation, -atism, -ative	conversion	c. divergence
social c.	co-action	c. drift
consolidate, -ed, -ing, -ion	cooperate, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive	c. evolution
conspirital society	antagonistic c.	c. group
constituent society	c. association	c. inertia
constitution, social	c. competition	c. interpenetration
constrained adaptation	c. conflict	c. lag
constraint, social	c. response	c. lapse
construct, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive c. conflict	voluntary c.	c. parallel
contact, -ual	coordinate, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive	c. pattern
categoric c.	creative c.	c. people
competitive c.	corporate, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive	c. process
cooperative c.	c. action	c. self
direct c.	c. individuality	c. reality
group c.	c. interest	c. region
historical continuity c.	c. opinion	c. resemblance
indirect c.	correlate, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive	c. thrust
individual c.	functional c.	c. trait
mobility c.	structural c.	c. type
primary c.	corroborate, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive	central c.
secondary c.	cosmosphere	continuity of c.
social c.	counter-suggestion	cross-fertilization of c.
symbolic c.	covert	fusion of c.
sympathetic c.	c. behavior	marginal c.
tertiary c.	c. conflict	preliterate c.
contagion, social	create, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive	primitive c.
content, social	c. activity	proto-c.
continue, -ed, -ing, -ation, -uity -uous	c. coordination	cumulative evolution
c. behavior	c. moment	current
c. diffusion	c. synthesis	c. opinion
c. of culture	group c.	social c.
individual c.	crisis	custom, -ary
social c.	critical (crucial) moment	c. behavior
contra-suggestion	cross-fertilization of culture	c. imitation ("imitation outcome")
contract, -ual, contraction	crowd	
c. society	c. intoxication	D
social c.	c. opinion	decadence, -ent
control	c. suggestion	de-centralization
culture (al) c.	c. that acts	decrement, social
derived c.	orgiastic c.	defense mechanism
individual c.	participator c.	defect; a defective; defectiveness
institutional c.	psychological c.	definition of situation
non-institutional c.	crucial situation	degenerate, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive
psycho-social c.	cultocracy	personal d.
	culture, -al, -alism	social d.
	c. area	delinquency; a delinquent
	c. autonomy	

democracy, -atic	individual d.	dyadic group
d. mind	social d.	dynamic, -s
demoralize, -ed, -ive, -ation	disapproval	d. action
individual d.	discipline, social	d. civilization
social d.	discontinue, -ed, -ing, -uation, -uity	d. sociology
demotic	-uous	individual d.
d. composition	d. diffusion	social d.
d. society	d. distribution	
denomination	individual d.	E
dependency; a dependent	social d.	ecology, human
depletion, social	discourse, universe of	ecological environment
derive, -ed, -ing, -ation, -ive	discovery, social	effort
d. attitude	discreteness, social	antagonistic e.
d. control	discussion	conscious social e.
d. control environment	disequalization	mutual e.
d. group	disequilibration	ego, -istic, -ism, -otic
d. ideal	disintegrate, -ed, -ion, -ive	e. -alter
desire	group d.	e. drive
desire—attitude—value	social d.	e. force
despotic society	disjunction, -ive	e. group
detachment	disorganize, -ed, -ing, -ation	e. society
deteriorate, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive	personal d.	collective e.
individual d.	social d.	group e.
social d.	disparity, social	eject, an
determine, -ed, -ing, -ation, -ism	disperse, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive	element, social
social(ly) d.	disposition, balked	eliminate, -ed, -ing, -ion
deter, -ed, -ing, -rence, -rent	dissimilar, -ity	emergent evolution
individual d.	dissociate, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive	emotion, -al
social d.	tendency	e. attitude
develop, -ed, -ing, -ment	dissolution, social	e. behavior
individual d.	dissuasion	e. response
social d.	distance, social	empathy
sympodial d.	s.d. margin	emulation
different, -ence, -iated, -iation	horizontal s.d.	endarchy
d. of kind	lateral s.d.	endoderm, social
d. of potential	vertical s.d.	ends, social
consciousness of d.	distribute, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive	energy, social
individual d.	discontinuous d.	entity, social
primary d.	intermittent d.	environment, -al, -alism
rational d.	peripheral d.	e. pressure
secondary d.	district, culture	bio-social e.
social d.	disunite, -ed, -ing, -ive, -ity	composite e.
diffusion, culture (al)	divergence, culture (al)	derivative-control e.
concentric d.	divide, -ed, -ing, -vision, -visive	ecological e.
continuous d.	d. association	physical e.
discontinuous d.	d. of labor	physico-social e.
natural d.	domestication	psycho-social e.
organized d.	dominate, -ance, -ant, -ed, -ion, -ive	social e.
primary d.	d. wish	subjective e.
secondary d.	drift, culture	epidemic, social
tertiary d.	drive	equalitarianism
direct, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive	egoistic d.	equalize, -ed, -ing, -ation
d. contact	prepotent d.	equilibrium, -ration
d. -contact group	socialized d.	equipoise
d. imitation	unsocialized d.	escape

esprit-de-corp
 establish
 estrange, -ed, -ment
 ethics, social
 ethnic, -no, -nology
 e. -centrism
 e. consciousness
 ethnogenic
 eudemic, -s, -onism
 eugenic, -s
 euthenic, -s
 evade; evasion
 evolution, -ary
 e. process
 cultural e.
 cumulative e.
 emergent e.
 personal e.
 social e.
 exclude, -ed, -ing, -sion, -sive
 individual e.
 social e.
 exhaust, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive
 group e.
 expand, -ed, -ing, -sion, -sive
 e. association
 e. group
 group e.
 expectancy, expectation
 experience, new
 expert, the
 exploit, -ed, -ing, -ation, -ive
 individual e.
 social e.
 express, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive
 e. action (activity)
 mimetic e.
 exterior, -ity
 extra-social
 extrovert, -ed, -ing, -sion, -sive
 an extrovert
 e. personality

F

fact, social
 faction
 family, -ial
 f. attitude
 f. behavior
 f. instinct
 fashion
 f. imitation ("*imitation mode*")
 federate, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive
 f. community
 f. group

feeling
 collective f.
 group f.
 we-f.
 feral man
 fermentation, social
 fetish, -ism
 feud
 filiate, -ed, -ing, -ation, -ative
 fixation
 f. of attention
 f. of interest
 filial f.
 parental f.
 focus of attention
 folklore
 folkway
 force
 affectional f.
 altruistic f.
 appetitive f.
 egotic f.
 psychic f.
 social f.
 socializing f.
 formal, -ism
 f. group
 f. in tradition
 frame of reference
 free symbols
 free-will
 function, -al, -alism
 f. area
 f. association
 f. correlation
 f. group
 social f.
 fundamental wish
 fusion
 f. of culture
 group f.

G

gang
 general, -ization
 g. process, the
 g. sociology
 genesis, social
 genetic, -s
 g. aggregation
 g. change
 g. group
 g. process
 g. selection
 social g.

gesture, social
 goal, social
 gradation, social
 gratification, social
 gregariousness
 group*
 g. behavior
 g. conflict
 g. creation
 g. disintegration
 g. ego
 g. egoism
 g. expansion
 g. federation
 g. feeling
 g. fusion
 g. mind
 g. momentum
 g. opinion
 g. product
 g. prejudice
 g. self
 g. self-consciousness
 g. situation
 g. stimulus
 g. thought
 g. tradition
 g. unity
 g. way
 g. will
 accomodation g.
 authorized g.
 component g.
 compound g.
 constituent g.
 culture g.
 derivative g.
 direct-contact g.
 dyadic g.
 formal g.
 functional g.
 genetic g.
 horizontal g.
 impersonal g.
 incorporated g.
 informal g.
 in-g.
 indirect-contact g.
 instinctive g.

* The specific groups themselves are omitted since they are obvious; and the number of them is so large that their inclusion would unduly expand this list.

intermediate g.	hominine	in-breeding
intimate g.	homogeneous, -eity	in-group
kinship g.	horde	incidence
nature g.	horizontal group	include, -ed, -ing, -sion, -sive
non-rational g.	h. distance	incorporate, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive
non-social g.	household	i. group
others-g.	human, -istic, -itarian, -ity, -ize	i. institution
out-g.	h. behavior	increment, social
party-interest g.	h. being	inculcate, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive
permanent g.	h. collectivity	indifferentism
personal g.	h. ecology	indirect contact
primary g.	h. nature	i. -contact group
primitive g.	h. society	individual, -ism, -istic, -ity, -ization
purposive g.	infra-h.	corporate i.
rational g.	sub-h.	individuation
re-organized g.		inducement
representative g.		inequality, social
sanctioned g.		inertia, cultural
secondary g.	ideal, -ism, -istic, -ization	institutional i.
self-regarding g.	i. personality	social i.
social g.	i. society	infiltration, social
sub-social g.	derivative i.	informal, -ism
temporary g.	primary i.	i. group
tertiary g.	identify; identification; identity	infra-human
they-g.	imitate, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive	inherit, -ed, -ing, -ance
triadic g.	i. attitude	i. attitude
unauthorized g.	i. behavior	social i.
unincorporated g.	i. pattern	inhibit, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive
unsanctioned g.	abstract i.	group i.
vertical g.	accidental i.	personal i.
we-g.	automatic i.	social i.
with presence g.	concrete i.	initial causation
without presence g.	conscious i.	inner behavior
growth	conventionality i.	innovation
g. process	custom i.	instability
adaptive g.	direct i.	instinct, -ive
social g.	fashion i.	i. behavior
gynaecocentric, -ocracy	mimetic i.	i. group
	non-mimetic i.	i. mechanism
H	non-personal i.	i. pattern
habit, social	personal i.	institute, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ional
habitation area	personality i.	i. competition
habitual	projective i.	i. control
h. mechanism	psychic i.	authoritative i.
h. pattern	purposive i.	incorporated i.
harmony	rational i.	operative i.
herd	suggestion i.	unincorporated i.
heredity, social	symbolic i.	institutionalization
heritage, social	unconscious i.	insubordination
heterogeneous, -eity	immobility, social	integrate, -ed, -ing, -ion, -integral
hinterland	imperative, social	i. process
history, -ic, -ical	impersonal group	i. society
h. continuity contact	impulse, -ive	social i.
h. process	i. action (activity)	intellectual behavior
h. races	i. behavior	
life h.	individual i.	
	social i.	

interact, -ing, -ion, -ive, -ity	kin; kindred; kinship	mass
mental i.	k. group	m. apperception
social i.	totemic k.	m. movement
intercommunicate, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive	kind	the masses
intercourse	consciousness of k.	mean, social
interdependence	difference of k.	mechanics, -ism
interest	likeness of k.	m. adjustment
i. area	kinetics, social	m. of communication
class i.	kultur	compensatory m.
collective i.		defense m.
corporate i.	L	habitual m.
fixation of i.	lag	instinctive m.
neutral i.	culture (al) l.	social m.
social i.	social l.	verbal m.
intermediate group	laissez faire	meliorism
intermindedness	lapse, culture	mental
intermittent distribution	larger will	m. conflict
internal	larithmics	m. interaction
i. adjustment	law, social	m. patterns
i. behavior	leader; leadership	mentation
interpenetrate, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive	learning process	mentifact
i. of culture	legalize, -ation, -ed, -ing	mesoderm, social
interstimulate, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive	legitimize, -ed, -ing, -ation	metabolism, social
internal behavior	level, personality	metasocial
intervention, social	social l.	methodology of sociology
intimate, -acy	liberate, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive	migration
i. group	life	militant society
intoxication, crowd	i. history	mimetic; mimicry
intra-acting, -ion, -ive, -ivity	i. organization	m. expression
introspection, sympathetic	re-organized l.	m. response
introvert, -ed, -sion, -sive; an	social l.	mind; mindedness
introvert	like-mindedness	class m.
i. personality	likeness	collective m.
invasion	likeness of kind	concerted m.
invent, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive	limit, -ed, -ing, -ation	democratic m.
i. modification	linked traits	group m.
inversion	localize, -ed, -ing, -ation	social m.
isolate, -ed, -ing, -ion	locate, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive; locality	mob
attitudinal i.	"looking-glass" self	m. mind, mindedness
biological i.	loosening	mobilize, -ed, -ing, -ity, -ization
cultural i.	M	m. contact
geographic i.	major conflict	horizontal m.
original i.	maladaptation	vertical m.
primary i.	maladjustment	modify, -ed, -ing, -ication
secondary i.	man, feral	blended m.
socio-psychic i.	marginal m.	inventive m.
spatial i.	manifestation	moment, creative
subsequent i.	self m.	critical (crucial) m.
	social m.	momentum, group
J	marginal	monad, social
justice, social	m. action	morale
	m. causation	moralization
K	m. culture	
katabolism, social	m. man	
karyokinesis, social	m. race	

morals; morality	personal o.	parity, -social
m. code	social o.	participate, -ed, -ing, -ant, -ation,
mos; mores	observation, social	-ator
motility, social	observer, participant	p. crowd
motive, -ate, -ed, -ing, -ation	obsolescence	p. observer
individual m.	obstacle, axiological	individual p.
social m.	occupational negativism	social p.
movement	ontogenetic	sympathetic p.
mass m.	operative institution	particularism, social
social m.	opinion	party
mutation, social	collective o.	party-interest group
mutual, -ism, -ity, -ization, -ize, -ed	corporate o.	pathology, -ical
m. aid	crowd o.	p. behavior
m. bond	current o.	social p.
m. effort	group o.	pattern
m. interest	personal o.	p. phenomenon
myth; mythical	preponderant o.	p. type
N		
native behavior	public o.	activity p.
nature, -al	standing o.	acquired p.
n. area	opposition	attitudinal p.
n. diffusion	universal o.	behavior p.
n. group	order, social	conceptual p.
n. society	organ, social	culture p.
n. people	organism, -ic, -ismic	habitual p.
human n.	o. society	imitative p.
original n.	social o.	instinctive p.
second n.	organize, -ed, -ing, -ation	institutionalized p.
negative, -ion, -ism	o. diffusion	mental p.
n. change	community o.	personality p.
occupational n.	consanguine o.	plurality p.
social n.	group o.	social p.
neighborhood	life o.	uninstitutionalized p.
new experience	personal o.	universal p.
nexus, social	private o.	pentagonal person
noetic	public o.	people
nominalism	social o.	culture p.
non-cooperative	orgiastic crowd	nature p.
n. c. response	origin, -s; original, -ity	perception, social
non-institutional	o. nature	period, -ic, -icity
n. i. control	o. tendency	peripheral distribution
non-personal imitation	individual o.	permanent
non-rational group	social o.	p. attitude
non-social	orientation, social	p. group
non-violent coercion	ossification, social	perpetuate, -ed, -ing, -ion
norm, -al, -ality, -ize	others-group	group p.
social n.	out-breeding	self p.
nucleus; nucleation	out-group	person, -al, -ality, -alization
social n.	overt adjustment	p. ascendency
nurture	o. behavior	p. choice
O		
object, -ify, -ification, -ive	parallel, -ism	p. competition
o. value	culture (al) p.	p. disorganization
	parasite, -ism	p. evolution
	social p.	p. group
		p. imitation
		p. inhibition

p. level	prejudice	integrating p.
p. objective	class p.	learning p.
p. pattern	group p.	psycho-social p.
p. response	race p.	reciprocal p.
p. type	preliterate; a preliterate	social p.
p. unrest	p. culture	the general p.
p. volition	p. group	the social p.
acquired p.	preponderant opinion	telic p.
anti-p.	prepotent	product; production
extrovert p.	p. drive	collective p.
ideal p.	p. reaction	group p.
introvert p.	p. reflex	social p.
pentagonal p.	p. response	professional, the; professionaliza-
reorganized p.	pressure	tion
social p.	circumstantial p.	progress, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive
persuasion	environmental p.	p. society
perversion	population p.	individual p.
phases, social	social p.	social p.
phenomenon	prestige	project, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive
pattern p.	extrinsic p.	p. imitation
social p.	intrinsic p.	p. self
philoneism	prevalence	propagate, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive
phylogenetic	primary	social p.
physical environment	p. aggregation	prophylaxis, social
physico-social environment	p. attitude	propitiate, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive
physics, social	p. conflict	protocracy
physiology, social	p. contact	protoculture
plane, social	p. differentiation	protoplasm, social
plasticity	p. group	protosocial
plural, -ism, -istic, -ity	p. ideal	psychology, -logic, -logical;
p. behavior	p. isolation	psychic
p. pattern	p. relationship	p. behavior
plurel	p. stock	p. crowd
plutocracy	primitive; a primitive	p. force
poesis	p. atomism	p. imitation
polarize, -ed, -ing, -ation, -ity	p. culture	collective p.
social p.	p. group	social p.
popular (of the people)	p. mind	psychosis
p. will	p. society	psycho-social
population	principle, organizing life	p.-s. behavior
p. pressure	private organization	p.-s. control
social p.	privilege, social	p.-s. environment
position	problem, social	p.-s. process
positive, -ism	process (practically all of the terms	public; publicity
p. change	applicable to <i>action</i> apply to	p. consciousness
social p.	process also.)	p. opinion
potential, -ity	behavior p.	p. organization
difference of p.	collective learning p.	the public
social p.	compounding p.	pure sociology
practical sociology	culture (al) p.	purpose, -ive
predisposition	differentiating p.	p. action
preference	evolutionary p.	p. association
preferential association	genetic p.	p. composition
p. attention	growth p.	p. group
	historic p.	p. imitation

common p.	rehabilitate, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive	ritual, -ism
thwarted p.	relation, -ism, -ship	social r.
R	action r.	rivalry
race, -ial	genetic r.	rôle
r. conflict	primary r.	rhythm, social
r. consciousness	secondary r.	
r. difference	status r.	S
r. exhaustion	reorganize, -ed, -ing, -ation	sanction, -ed, -ing
r. prejudice	r. group	s. group
r. suicide	r. life	satisfaction
central r.	r. personality	individual s.
historical r.	individual r.	social s.
marginal r.	social r.	scale of values
radiation, sympathetic	repeat; repetition; repetitive;	seclude, -ed, -ing, -sion
random behavior	repetitious	second nature
rappor	repel, -pellant, -pulsion	secondary
rational, rationalization	represent, -ed, -ing, -ation, -ative	s. aggregation
r. behavior	r. group	s. attitude
r. control	collective r.	s. conflict
r. group	individual r.	s. contact
r. imitation	repression, social	s. differentiation
r. selection	repulse, -ive, -ion	s. group
r. sympathy	research, social	s. isolation
reaction	resemblance	s. relationship
circular r.	conscious r.	sect, -arian, -arianism
prepotent r.	cultural r.	sectionalism
social, -ized, r.	residue	security
unsocial, -ized, r.	resources, social	segregate, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive
reality, social	response, -ive	selection
realization, self	collective r.	autogenetic s.
recapitulation	conditioned r.	conscious s.
recede, -ed, -ing, -cession, -cessive	cooperative r.	genetic s.
re-centralization	emotional r.	individual s.
reciprocal; reciprocate; reciprocity	mimetic r.	rational s.
r. action	non-cooperative r.	societal (social) s.
r. adjustment	personal r.	unconscious s.
r. influence	prepotent r.	self
r. process	social r.	s. control
recognition	stereotyped r.	s. culture
reconstruct, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive	struggle r.	s. gratification
reintegrate, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive	suggested r.	s. manifestation
reference, frame of	uniform r.	s. perpetuation
reflect, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive	unlike r.	s. realization
r. self	responsibility	s. regarding
r. sympathy	individual r.	s. regarding group
reflex, -ive	social r.	biological s.
r. struggle	restlessness	group s.
conditional r.	restrain, -ed, -ing; restraint	situation s.
prepotent r.	individual r.	social s.
reform, -ed, -ing, -ation, -ative	social r.	self-consciousness
social r.	retard, -ed, -ing, -ation	attitudinal s.-c.
region, -al, regionalism	revolution, -ary	group s.-c.
culture r.	r. conflict	sense, social
regress, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive	social r.	sensorium, social
	rite, social	sentiment

sequence, behavior	egoistic s.	strength, social
service, social	human s.	structure, -al
set-for-action	idealistic s.	s. correlation
set, subconscious	industrial s.	social s.
sex; sexual	integral s.	struggle
significant symbol	militant s.	s. -reflex
similar, -ity	natural s.	s. -response
simple	organized s.	s. for existence
s. association	primitive s.	acquisitive s.
s. society	progressive s.	class s.
simulate, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive	simple s.	subconscious set
single, -gular, -gularism, -gularistic	sympathetic s.	sub-human being
s. behavior	unorganized s.	sub-instinctive behavior
single human being	voluntary s.	subject, -ive, subjectification
situation	sociocracy	s. environment
s. self	sociogeny	s. value
conflict s.	genetic s.	individual s.
crucial s.	sociologism	social s.
definition of s.	sociology	suicide, race
group s.	applied s.	subjugate, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive
sociability	dynamic s.	sublimate, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive
social (societal; societary)	general s.	submit, -ed, -ission, -issive
social	practical s.	ascendent s.
anti-s.	pure s.	subordinate, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive
extra-s.	sociometry	individual s.
non-s.	socionomy	social s.
sub-s.	sociosphere	sub-social
super-s.	socius; sociusship	subvalent, social
the s.	solicitation, competitive	succession
social consciousness	solidarity, social	suggest, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive
abstract s.-c.	solitude, social	s. imitation
symbolic s. c.	species	s. response
socialism	spirit, social	auto-s.
sociality	stabilize, -ed, -ing, -ation	counter-s.
socialize, -ed, -ing, -ation	stage, social	contra-s.
s. drive	stagnate, -ed, -ing, -ion	individual s.
sociation	standard; standardize, -ed, -ing,	social s.
societal (social; societary)	-ization	suggestability
societalization ("Vergesellschaftung")	social s.	summation
societary (social; societal)	standing opinion	superordinate, -ed, -ing, -ion
societology	static; statics	superorganic
society	s. civilization	super-personality
approbational s.	s. society	super-social
authoritative s.	social s.	supervalent, social
caste s.	statistics, social	supplementation
component s.	status, social	suppress, -ed, -ing, -ion, -ive
component-constituent s.	stereotype, -ed; a stereotype	surplus
compound s.	s. response	survey, social
congenial s.	stimulate, -ed, -ing, -ion; stimulus	survival
conspirital s.	group s.	s. of the fittest
constituent s.	non-social s.	s. value
contractual s.	social s.	individual s.
demotic s.	stock, primary	social s.
despotic s.	stranger	symbiosis, -otic
	stratification, social	

symbol, -ic, -ized, -izing, -ize, thwart, -ed, -ing	universal opposition
-ization	u. pattern
s. behavior	unlike, -ness
s. contact	u. response
s. imitation	unorganized society
s. of communication	unpremeditated behavior
s. social consciousness	unrest
significant s.	personal u.
social s.	social u.
sympathy, -etic	unsanctioned group
s. behavior	unsocial, -ized
s. contact	usurpation
s. introspection	utilize, -ed, -ing, -ity, -ization
s. participation	final u.
s. radiation	initial u.
s. society	marginal u.
rational s.	objective u.
reflective s.	subjective u.
sympodial development	
synergy	
syngenism	
synthesis	
creative s.	V
social s.	
T	
taboo	value, -s, -uation
taxis	objective v.
technique, social	scale of v.
technology, social	social v.
telegony	subjective v.
telesis; telestics; telic; telics	survival v.
t. change	variable, -ility
t. process	v. checks
collective t.	societal v.
individual t.	variation
social t.	individual v.
temporary group.	social v.
tendency	verbal mechanism
associative t.	vertical distance
dissociative t.	v. circulation
individual t.	v. group
original t.	volition, -al
social t.	v. association
tension, social	v. process
the general process	concerted v.
the social process	personal v.
they-group	voluntary
thought	v. cooperation
class t.	v. society
collective t.	
group t.	
social t.	
thrust, culture	
U	
unadjustment	W
unauthorized group	wants
unconscious	way, group
u. attitude	we-group
u. imitation	we-feeling
u. selection	well-being; welfare
unconventional	individual w.
understanding, area of	social w.
unify, -ed, -ing, -ication	
uniform, -ity	
u. response	
social u.	
unincorporated	
u. group	
u. institution	
uninstitutionalized pattern	
unite, -ed, -ing, -ity, -ive; union	
u. association	
group u.	
universe of discourse	

will	wish	with-presence group
general w.	dominant w.	without-presence group
group w.	fundamental w.	world, social
individual w.	individual w.	
larger w.	social w.	Z
popular w.	the four wishes	
social w.	withdrawal	zone of transition
		zoogenic association

TEACHING SOCIOLOGY

The five papers read at the December meeting of the American Sociological Society and constituting the greater part of the program of the Division on the Teaching of Sociology, of which Malcolm M. Willey was chairman, provide quite the most interesting discussion of the subject which has appeared in some time. The five articles were presented by Erville B. Woods of Dartmouth College, Ray Erwin Baber of New York University, Frank H. Hankins of Smith College, Carl A. Dawson of McGill University, and Malcolm M. Willey of the University of Minnesota. Reprints of these five papers, bound under one cover, may be secured for twenty cents per copy postpaid, from SOCIAL FORCES, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.—*Editors.*

I

THE TEACHING AND CONTENT OF INTRODUCTORY COURSES

ERVILLE B. WOODS

TEACHING

AN INTRODUCTORY course in general sociology must be taught with due regard to the age, preparation and purposes of the students enrolled in it. The present observations, it may be as well to point out at the beginning, are based upon experience gained in teaching for the past ten years, classes of three or four hundred men with a non-specialist interest in the subject for the most part. The course extends over a full academic year. These men are mainly Sophomores and Juniors. Some forty or fifty of them each year enroll for the Sociology Major which means twelve semesters of work in the subject before graduation. Of these majors two or three a year go away to graduate schools in this country and

abroad for higher degrees in sociology and related fields. Seven-eighths of the men, however, who take the introductory course take it because it seems to them to open up broad and significant perspectives upon life and because it lays serviceable foundations for critical appreciation of and participation in the activities of the institutions and communities to which they will presently find themselves related. Many of these three hundred men will receive no other training in sociology than what this course provides. Many, however, although majoring in other fields, will take from one to three or four advanced courses in sociology before they graduate. At Dartmouth, therefore, the constituency of our introductory course consists of three parts: specialists who

will pursue the subject for some years, semi-specialists who will take from four to eight semesters of work in sociology, and a considerable group of non-specialists whose knowledge of the subject will come wholly from this introductory course.

In the brief space available an attempt will be made to answer as concisely as possible six questions dealing with such an introductory course.

(a) The first question is: Who should teach the introductory course? At Dartmouth we have found much stimulation and good fellowship in making the elementary course the concern of everybody in the Department. All ten members of our staff have "a finger in the pie." On the part of the older men participation may consist only in teaching three times a week one section of twenty or twenty-five men and keeping a lookout for new and better reading materials or topics for study. A young instructor on the other hand who is responsible for no course of his own, may be assigned three or four sections of the introductory course. This policy gives us all a share in one common enterprise, broadens the individual teacher's interests, preventing over-specialization, and, by making each member of the Department intimately familiar with the preparation received in the introductory course, secures a better coordination between intermediate and advanced courses and their prerequisites. Since the introductory course is prerequisite to all other courses in the Department, the instructor in advanced courses is able without waste of time to talk to his men in a language they already understand, and to build with some confidence upon the concepts and other data mediated by the elementary course.

It may not be impertinent to suggest that even professors in graduate schools might not be permanently injured nor the

progress of research unduly delayed if they should spend a couple of hours a week with the humble plainsmen enrolled in the introductory course, who have not yet learned to breathe the rarified atmosphere of the upper levels.

(b) A second question concerns *classroom methods*. Lectures, informal discussions, projects and field problems where feasible, may all find place in the teaching of the introductory course. Methods in general should vary with the personalities and aptitudes of the teachers concerned. One man may be a master of the art of interpretative lecturing. Another may be able to induce and conduct discussions which clarify difficult subjects more successfully than would hours of lecturing. In a discussion the teacher is often able to shoot at a target which has actually become visible to him through the student's comments and questions, whereas in a lecture he must shoot in the general direction of targets whose position he can only estimate or conjecture. At Dartmouth we hold no mass lectures in the introductory course; all oral instruction is in the hands of the individual instructor. He may spend a good many hours in formal lecturing or very few, according to his gifts and his understanding of the needs of his students. We have been well satisfied with the results of this method. It appears to avoid two difficulties; first, the illusion that the average factual lecture is better prepared and more informing than the same number of words available in print, and second, the subordination of the instructor to the position of mere quizmaster. It seems to be good for a young instructor who has completed his courses for the doctorate (and we do not venture to use men with less preparation) to be told that he is responsible for the teaching of a carefully outlined course and that in the class-room, at least, he is to be king

and arbiter, philosopher and friend to the young men turned over to his instruction. It gives him faith in his own mission, and it confers dignity upon him in the eyes of his students. In these circumstances when promotion comes, the teacher is still well content to go on with his one or two sections of the elementary course, continuing to use methods of instruction which in his own experience have proved congenial and effective.

(c) The third question concerned with teaching is that of the *reading materials* to be employed. It seems to the writer that a variety of sources is better than a single text-book, and it is not very difficult to provide classes whether large or small with adequate sets of reference works. A semester fee of three or four dollars, approximately the cost of one text-book, provides a fund sufficient, in the case of large classes at least, to purchase sets of fifteen or twenty different books for use during the year. We find that one copy on reserve will serve seven or eight students quite comfortably. Accordingly we buy from thirty-five to fifty copies of the books selected according to the size of the course in a given year. The co-operation of an efficient reserve book department in the College Library is essential to the success of this plan. In the case of institutions located in large cities with a considerable proportion of students who scatter over a wide area to their own homes at the close of the day, this plan would prove unsatisfactory no doubt. The continuity of an introductory course in sociology is of the utmost importance and in case the reading materials are provided in books placed upon reserve, it is essential that a rather full syllabus of topics together with connective and interpretative material be also put in the student's hands. This can be prepared

in mimeographed form at very moderate expense within the limits of the fee referred to.

The advantages of the syllabus and reference readings as a method of instruction in the introductory course are:

1. The selection of topics and reading materials is determined by those teaching the course. It is therefore *their course*—it expresses their judgments of values and of sources; whereas the adoption of a text-book subordinates the teacher unduly to the text-book writer. The teacher in fact, with his sociological Baedeker in hand, may turn out to be little more than the most talkative tourist in the party, playing a quite mechanical rôle as he helps to sluice ideas which bear the imprint of a single mind into the too receptive minds of his students.

2. Few books are of equal merit from cover to cover. A writes with admirable clarity in regard to Palaeolithic man, but B is much more effective on the geographical factor. If it is heredity or public opinion, or social progress, or cultural diffusion, we are dealing with it is quite possible that the eminent biologist C, the publicist D, the philosopher E, or the anthropologist F, may turn out to be more available because more authoritative and stimulating than any single sociological text-book writer. Well then, why not avail ourselves of them all—of each at his point of greatest usefulness?

3. Finally it is good for the student to work with many outstanding books rather than with one excellent book. It is good for him to encounter more "slants" than one, more dictions than one, more backgrounds and ranges of interest and orientation than one. It is puzzling at times, but with helpful teaching it proves intellectually invigorating and that is the main thing.

CONTENT

Three questions regarding the content of the introductory course will be raised, and a single answer to each suggested. So vast and variegated an object of study as human society may obviously be approached from a variety of angles. The following observations record the angle from which one teacher of the subject has come to view the problem. Among the desiderata for an introductory course are *unity of content*, a pervading *sense of reality*, and what we may call for the moment *vitality*.

(a) *How may unity of content in the introductory course be assured?* In a word, by making one aspect of the subject central and grouping the others about it. Introductory courses sometimes attempt an encyclopedic treatment of social phenomena. Everything from Pithecanthropus to Philanthropy must come in for cursory and sometimes dogmatic treatment. Origins, factors, principles, processes, institutions, relationships, and problems are marshalled in solid phalanxes and marched at the double-quick through the semester with hardly time for the student to draw a full breath, much less to engage in reflective thought, during breaks in the crowded procession. Such a presentation of the subject leaves the student uncertain just what sociology "is all about," unless perchance it is about everything. Inasmuch as our science has made a determined fight to escape from the imputation that it is "anything from sanitary plumbing to a philosophy of the universe," it is incumbent upon the teacher of the introductory course so to organize his materials as to give the student the consistent impression of a definitely delimited, recognizable field of scientific inquiry with a subject-matter of its own. Teachers and text-book writers attempt to accomplish

this end each in his own way, with the result that in point of organization and emphasis at least, a great variety of treatment emerges. From among various concepts which appear to offer advantages as unifiers of introductory course materials, the writer has experimented mainly with two, the *social group* and the *cultural approach*. The former by centering the course upon a concrete and ever present reality and one well within the experience of every student, promised to afford a suitable point of application for the various factors or forces to be examined during the progress of the study. It is, however, from the idea of *culture as man's distinctive achievement* that to us the most satisfactory means of orienting the student to social phenomena has been obtained. Mankind appears to be the only species of animal which has the ability to conserve and capitalize its own experience. This unique power of capitalizing experience into a cumulative kind of knowledge is seen in language, tools, customs, and institutions. All of these things taken together are designated by the comprehensive name of *Culture*. It comprises the total pattern of behavior which one generation passes on to its successor. Culture is the distinctive possession of mankind: it is the stuff of civilization, and it may well be made the core of the materials presented in the elementary course. If our study concerns itself primarily with culture as such, with the way it started, how it spreads, how it is integrated, what are the uniformities running through it which lend themselves to scientific formulation, and what the relation of these things may be to the social problems facing the world, it is not difficult to preserve a real unity running throughout our analysis of social phenomena. Sociology in this view becomes a science of civilization or culture

as such, in much the same way that biology is a science of life as such.

(b) *How may a sense of reality be secured in the introductory course?* By emphasizing the identity of the culture-building processes in all ages and circumstances with those operating all about us here and now.

Students in introductory courses need to keep close to the facts, and hence a free use of concrete ethnographic and demographic materials is indispensable. Such books as Goldenweiser's *Early Civilization*, Wissler's *Man and Culture*, Kroeber's *Anthropology*, Lynd's *Middletown* and Gruening's *Mexico and Its Heritage* afford materials of value at this point. Descriptive accounts, however, as such will mean little to the average student unless they are fitted into the larger purpose of exhibiting mankind at work creating, practising, and transmitting civilization under varying circumstances. Variables in the form of diverse racial inheritances, different geographical environments, and widely contrasted culture bases lead in varying degrees to alternative versions of civilization. In the old Spencerian formula, the "adjustment of inner to outer relations," and the reverse adaptation of outer conditions to inner patterns, constitute a never-ending process by which mankind attempts the solution of the problems which life presents.

From this viewpoint social institutions no longer appear to be bloodless though formidable abstractions, with long histories which are very intricate and difficult to remember. On the contrary they are seen to be elaborations of human behavior, flexible, sensitive, always transitional, never complete nor in final equilibrium, yet always subject to appraisal and judgment in terms of results achieved in given sets of circumstances.

(c) The third question dealing with

content which I should like to raise concerns what I have called the vitality of the introductory course. The student has a right to expect instruction which not only leaves a definite impression of unity and reality in his mind, but which also deals with things *that really matter*.

Of course opinions will differ at this point as at others which have been touched upon, and I shall merely mention one or two aspects of the subject which seem to me to be of especial importance. The first of these is the attempt to achieve a truly scientific attitude and methodology in the study of social phenomena. By such an attitude I mean an emotional neutrality or state of equilibrium as nearly equivalent to that of the natural scientist as is possible when dealing with conditions in regard to which each of us feels a personal interest and concern.

It is to be expected that any teacher who is intellectually alive and who has spent years in the study of social phenomena, will have acquired definite convictions upon many subjects, but whatever his own opinions may be, he must hold them with such fairness and openness of mind as to encourage candor in the minds of his students. As Webster once remarked, "Whoever has not candor enough, for good cause, to change his own opinions, is not safe authority to change the opinions of other men."

I should almost be willing to say that, provided a given introductory course is so taught that the student acquires a candid and fearless habit of considering social data objectively and comprehensively in the face of all interests and prejudices which call for a different kind of consideration,—that in such a case I should not be disposed to inquire overmuch regarding the topics studied, for the classroom like the proverbial fruit-tree is to be judged by its fruit.

If to the cultivation of scientific candor is joined the development of skill in the manipulation of social data, the student is receiving a really vital contribution toward his education. No study which seeks to achieve these ends can hold aloof from the consideration of the great tensions and conflicts now and always so conspicuous a feature of the social landscape. At this point there is need for a re-emphasis of the dynamic note in sociological teaching. Man has never played the rôle of mere spectator in his adjustments to changing conditions and to accumulating knowledge. Driven often by blind forces which he could not understand, he has always faced the necessity of acting, of deciding at least whether to stand or run, whether to continue in the old rut or strike out on a new course. This necessity will not grow less insistent with the passage of time. Without prejudice to as much determinism, economic, cultural or otherwise, as one may

wish to read into one's understanding of life, it is still true that outside of class-rooms this is a world which demands decision and action. Within the class-room, therefore, the preparation of the men of affairs of the future, the common affairs of civilized mankind, should go on apace. The data may not all be in—as a matter of fact, they never will be—but today's decisions nevertheless must be made today not day after tomorrow.

In the midst of the great readjustments of this post-war generation, the student of sociology, who is well read in the history of civilization, must needs be also something of what Christopher Morley calls an *infracaninophile*, a helper of the under-dog. At this point the scientific temper dedicated to the vindication of truth at any cost may well be joined to another equally valid temper, that of active goodwill dedicated to the vindication of fair-play and common humanity.

II

A DISCUSSION OF THE INTRODUCTORY COURSE

RAY ERWIN BABER

IF IN this year of grace, 1931, a self-styled sociologist (fondly hopeful that the term has a definite connotation but vaguely uneasy because it continues to elude him) should pause in his arduous task of spreading the sociological gospel to scan the territory already staked out by his fellow sociologists, he would be amazed at the extent of the field and the variety of crops. Modest pride would fill his bosom that he had been chosen to labor in a field of such magnificent proportions and abundant yield. After a period of humble gratitude he would turn once more to his wonted task

of still further extending the frontier, with heroic determination and patience planting the flag of occupation on territory long since settled by the followers of earlier explorers. For has he not learned that the explorer of today must not turn back merely because he finds his new land already occupied?

This tendency to make sociology include everything with which it can prove any contact may lead to a new definition which might well be as follows: "Sociology is that highly specialized science which deals with anything in any way pertaining to man." The above tendency has often

been pointed out, but, as Mark Twain remarked about the weather, little has been done about it. We deplore the vagueness of our boundary lines, yet we leave the transit in its case. We excuse ourselves with the comfortable assurance that knowledge cannot be confined to airtight compartments, that life is a whole fabric, each of its numerous interwoven strands touching a thousand others. Or, to change the figure, we want the stream to run deep and strong, yet make no move to channelize it, rather permitting it to spread where it will. We like to hear sociology called a science, yet we chafe under the exacting tyranny of scientific method, finding ease and contentment in the comfortable freedom of general discussion. That our method is ineffective is shown by the small deference paid sociologists in planning and guiding the numerous social reforms attempted by various organizations both public and private, reforms calling for analytical knowledge of social forces and processes if they are to be effective.

However, it is useless merely to brood over our sins and do proper penance. We have a specific problem—that of planning and teaching an introductory course in sociology. If this discussion repeatedly questions the meaning and scope of sociology it is obviously because we cannot arrive at any agreement on what should be taught in an introductory course until we reach some sort of an agreement on what sociology is. After reviewing more than a score of the many texts now being used in the introductory course, I have sought to compare them and make something of a composite picture of their content, method and viewpoint, and to show something of the extent of their use. That there is uncertainty and dissatisfaction concerning the introductory course is clearly evident. As one talks with sociolo-

gists here and there over the country, and at the annual meetings of the American Sociological Society, a common question is heard, "What are you using in your introductory course this year?" (Note the "*this year.*") The reply usually is, "Oh we are using So-and-so's new text, but it isn't working out. We are going to have to find something else for next year. What are you trying?" (Note the "*trying.*") "Well, we've tried about everything but we haven't found anything satisfactory. It looks as though I am going to have to work up a syllabus and then expand it into a book." Undoubtedly the general dissatisfaction with the available texts is at least one reason for the flood of new texts in the field. From a cursory glance at the shelf it appears that few have been able to withstand the urge so well expressed in a prominent student daily:

"Breathes there a prof with soul so dead
Who never to himself hath said—
'I'll write a text-book of my own!'"

Now, all this commendable effort enriches the field. New ideas are generated and new methods of treatment set forth. It is probably one of the natural steps in the long process of defining the field. Yet we must admit that at present the array of books is so extensive, and the content and viewpoint so diverse, that it is easier to see confusion than clarity in their attempt at what is supposed to be a common task. This does not mean that we should seek a dead-level uniformity in texts. Nothing would so surely limit the fruits of variation. On the other hand, unless there is some measure of uniformity in central concept and purpose, may not the result be equally limited?

A study of the introductory texts in the field, in spite of their variety in scope and

method, shows more or less clearly a grouping somewhat as follows:

First, those who approach sociology through the medium of social problems. These hold that a survey of the chief problems of modern society has a two-fold effect:

- a. It impresses the student with the need of a theory and technique for solving such problems.
- b. It so arouses his interest that he naturally wishes to pursue further study in the field.

The next group consists of those who feel that the best approach to sociology is through the vast field of social origins and social evolution. Some of this material would be classed by modern anthropologists as social anthropology, but most of it can properly be called social evolution, and for the sake of convenience shall be so designated hereafter in this paper. This approach also claims two benefits:

- a. It is a sure to kindle interest in the student, for few can resist its fascination.
- b. It constitutes a logical, normal approach in that it brings an understanding of the beginnings and growth of the forces and institutions which make up our social structures and processes of today, thus laying the foundation for an intelligent analysis in the more advanced courses.

A third group would approach sociology through a general orientation course in the whole field of the social sciences (perhaps even including certain phases of some of the physical sciences), in order to acquaint the student with those fundamental factors in the fields closely related to sociology which are essential to a full understanding of sociology itself. They reason that there are factors in geography, psychology, biology, economics, politics, and other such subjects that often determine to a very large extent the structure and processes which we call social. Hence, since sooner or later they must be

taken into account, why not consider them first, treating them as conditioning factors to social activities, thus clearing the way for an intensive study of sociology itself?

The fourth group goes further than the one just described, for it frankly considers sociology as a synthesis of the other social sciences, and bases its introductory course upon this theory. This position is best stated in the words of one of its chief exponents: "Not that analysis [of the various social sciences] has yielded all its fruits, but that instead of perpetuating the practice by which every social science exaggerates, and almost inevitably to some degree distorts, one set of factors by viewing it with too little regard for its interrelationship with other factors, one social science shall busy itself explicitly with the task of correlation, and with those generalizations which are based upon data, parts of which are furnished by each special social science, generalizations which find application in every subdivision of social reality, and which serve as safeguards against the dangers of narrow specialization. . . ."

Finally, there is the group that insists that sociology is a science in its own right, certainly not unrelated to the other social sciences, certainly not refusing to draw water from their wells on occasion, but also having wells—even springs—of its own. This group believes that the best approach to sociology is through an analysis of social interaction, and that wherever such factors as social problems, for example, enter into the discussion they should be considered not so much as social problems in themselves, but as data for use in the analysis of social processes.

It will at once be perceived that these five approaches are not mutually exclusive. They deal largely—though not entirely—with the same factors, and their purpose and methods are in places over-

lapping. But there is a distinct difference, lying less in the data used than in viewpoint and emphasis. They are all wrestling more or less consciously with the old problem—"What is sociology?" Some seem to be fairly content with their scheme of things, but others are apparently still uncertain where to draw boundary lines. To raise again a previous point, life is not and cannot be made up of separate chambers. If at the close of each day we attempt to pigeonhole our experiences we become bewildered, often hesitating between pigeonhole "A" and pigeonhole "B" for a certain experience, knowing that it would fit almost equally well in either. An experience may be economic, political, religious, physical, psychological, and "social" all in one. The simplest acts of life give us pause when we seek to classify them.

The curricula of universities are continually wrestling with this problem. I have been told that in one of our great universities a course entitled "social psychology" is given in four different departments, each from a different viewpoint. And who can draw the line between ethics and sociology in a discussion of the mores? Just where does chemistry leave off and biology begin in the study of the chemical processes that take place in the body? Under which flag—that of sociology or economics—should be the discussion of the effects of poverty, or of the industrial strike? Where is the parting of the ways for biology and psychology? (A professor of psychology in a great university expressed the wish that psychology should be placed in the biology department "where it belonged.") Whose task is it—the historian's or the political scientist's—to relate the rise of our constitution? Such questions merely emphasize the fact that life is an integrated whole, and that human experience is no respecter of bound-

ary lines. But this fact should not be used to encourage loose thinking. The abandonment of effort to establish *working boundaries*, i.e., boundaries of *emphases*, would be regrettable. The fact that primitive man's religious beliefs, economic life, and various social activities may be greatly influenced by the sun need not lead the sociologist into a study of astronomy; because in a given country the discovery of deposits of coal and iron may change the whole social life of a people there is no reason to include either geology or mineralogy in the field of sociology. The child born with only one hand will thereby be limited and conditioned in his social attitudes and activities, but need this call for a study of embryology by the sociologist? Few would claim that the very marked effect of geography and climate upon the social structure and activity of a people would call for the inclusion of geography and meteorology in the study of sociology. Yet even those who would be first to exclude such factors from the *central* field of sociology would be willing to admit that they constitute useful data that can be accepted and referred to as such, without receiving the central emphasis which some accord them. They would say, "Such factors are related to sociology, and they affect sociology, but they are not sociology itself."

But even among sociologists who would agree upon the above statement, there actually exists great difference in treatment, and the interpretation of their viewpoints by other sociologists frequently shows even wider differences. Consider these statements from two well known sociologists concerning the *same book*. Says the first, "The book proves not to be in the field of sociology. . . . Neither its subject matter nor its point of view is sociological. . . . The book really discusses some of the problems that lie within

the field of social anthropology." The second sociologist says, "There has long been need for an elementary sociology by a writer peculiarly interested in the biological aspects of the subject and capable of treating clearly, fully, and without bias their relation to the social aspects. Such a book . . . has now appeared." Oral comments on this book by other sociologists have been equally diverse. Now, we cannot expect nor would we desire unanimity of opinion among sociology teachers regarding the value of a certain text, but is it too much to expect a fair amount of agreement as to whether the book even comes within the *field of sociology*? In the neighboring field of government we would manifestly not find complete agreement on the usability of a particular text, but we would be somewhat surprised to find our politically-minded colleagues warmly debating whether certain widely used texts even came within the *field of government*. Admitting that any attempted boundary lines between the social sciences must be flexible enough to meet changes in thought, might we not justifiably demand that the *central body* of each be autonomous enough to constitute a reasonably differentiated field of social research?

With this general statement of the problem as a background let us briefly examine some twenty or more books now being used over the country as texts in the introductory course in sociology. We shall look somewhat at their view point and method, but particularly at the type of material they select for a beginning course. First, it may be observed that most of the books take up a more or less formal discussion of the influence of physical environment (chiefly geographic) upon man. Over half of the texts studied devoted at least one chapter to this subject, one book giving six chapters (12 per cent of the total

pages) to it. Of the 18 books in the group that treated social problems quite definitely, the percentage of the total space so used ranged all the way from 5 to 90 per cent. The arithmetic average was 39 per cent and the median 33 per cent. Only 5 of the 23 texts examined failed to treat definitely at least some social problems. One book gave 41 per cent of its total space to physical health, and 21 per cent to mental health. Half of the books devoted considerable space to social evolution. By this, as already intimated, I do not mean merely an examination of the processes which come from the inevitable social change taking place in society, but a more or less formal discussion of the origin and development of social institutions such as the family, the state, private property, religion, etc. The space given to such material in these texts ranged from 11 to 86 per cent. The arithmetic average was 29 per cent and the median 20 per cent.

The texts which devoted a third or more of their space to social problems, beginning with the highest percentage, are:

	<i>Per cent</i>
Bossard: <i>Problems of Social Well-Being</i>	90
Gillin, Dittmer, Colbert: <i>Social Problems</i>	88
Odum: <i>Man's Quest for Social Guidance</i>	73
Dow: <i>Society and Its Problems</i>	56
Haas: <i>Man and Society</i>	50
Folsom: <i>Culture and Social Progress</i>	44
Hart: <i>The Science of Social Relations</i>	39
Beach: <i>Introduction to Sociology</i>	38
Case: <i>Outlines of Introductory Sociology</i>	33
Bushee: <i>Principles of Sociology</i>	33

Those giving a fifth or more of their space to social evolution are:

	<i>Per cent</i>
Babcock: <i>Man and Social Achievement</i>	86
Gillin and Blackmar: <i>Outlines of Sociology</i>	41
Hankins: <i>An Introduction to the Study of Society</i>	35
Case: <i>Outlines of Introductory Sociology</i>	30
Davis, Barnes, et al.: <i>Introduction to Sociology</i>	20

	Percent
Binder: <i>Principles of Sociology</i>	20
Hayes: <i>Introduction to the Study of Sociology</i>	19
Dow: <i>Society and Its Problems</i>	19
Haas: <i>Man and Society</i>	19

The above classifications were made on the basis of the greatest emphasis, or central theme, rather than on the precise method of treatment, and hence, while another reviewer might arrive at slightly different percentages in some cases, the averages for the *whole group* would doubtless be much the same regardless of the reviewer.

Several of the books avoid all formal study of social problems and social evolution as such, and devote practically their whole content to an analysis of the mechanism of social interaction. This does not mean that no social problems are mentioned, but that they are used only as data in the analysis. Some such books are:

Park and Burgess: *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*
 Ross: *Principles of Sociology*
 Dawson & Gettys: *Introduction to Sociology*
 Lumley: *Principles of Sociology*

Even these few books are widely dissimilar in viewpoint and treatment (though two are very similar), but all four have enough in common to place them in the same group if judged by the above-mentioned single criterion.

Other interesting similarities in these twenty-three books are revealed in their tables of contents. Ten of them have a chapter devoted to the nature and scope of sociology and its relation to the other social sciences, ten have a chapter on groups, 13 on opposition and conflict, 9 on accommodation and coöperation, 6 on human nature, 8 on culture, 12 on social control, 15 on the family, and 10 on progress. Other subjects could be found common to a number of them, but these are enough to be representative.

An interesting set of figures was placed at my disposal by one of the larger publishing houses, whose field representatives, each year by personal visitation, gather information on the basic text in the *elementary* course in sociology as given in hundreds of colleges and universities over the country. The list is doubtless accurate as far as it goes, for this particular house is anxious to see how its own books are ranking. Sometimes they rank at the head of the list, and sometimes not. The first list here reproduced is for the 1929 fall and winter adoptions in 296 schools having an enrollment of 300 or over. Of course many of them are large universities. Out of the surprisingly long list of 37 books in use, there were 15 being used in five or more schools, as follows:

Ross: <i>Principles of Sociology</i>	38
Davis, Barnes, et al.: <i>Introduction to Sociology</i>	37
Blackmar and Gillin: <i>Outlines of Sociology</i>	36
Hankins: <i>An Introduction to the Study of Society</i>	30
Lumley: <i>Principles of Sociology</i>	25
Park and Burgess: <i>Introduction to the Science of Society</i>	20
Case: <i>Outlines of Introductory Sociology</i>	17
Beach: <i>Introduction to Sociology</i>	11
Dow: <i>Society and Its Problems</i>	10
Groves: <i>Introduction to Sociology</i>	8
Wallis: <i>Introduction to Sociology</i>	7
Ellwood: <i>(Sociology and Modern Social Problems?)</i>	7
Bogardus: <i>Introduction to Sociology</i>	6
Hart: <i>The Science of Social Relations</i>	5
Bushee: <i>Principles of Sociology</i>	5

The next list is composed of 502 schools, including both those above and below an enrollment of 300 students. In this case the adoptions are for the first half of 1930. It will be noticed that the ten or fifteen leaders are nearly the same as in the smaller list, though several slight changes in relative position occur, notably in the first four. Of the 44 books in use, only those used in ten or more schools are here listed.

Blackmar and Gillin: <i>Outlines of Sociology</i>	60
Hankins: <i>An introduction to the Study of Society</i>	57
Ross: <i>Principles of Sociology</i>	54
Davis, Barnes et al.: <i>Introduction to Sociology</i>	49
Lumley: <i>Principles of Sociology</i>	44
Park and Burgess: <i>Introduction to the Science of Sociology</i>	27
Beach: <i>Introduction to Sociology</i>	26
Case: <i>Outlines of Introductory Sociology</i>	24
Dow: <i>Society and Its Problems</i>	24
Groves: <i>Introduction to Sociology</i>	14
Ellwood: (<i>Sociology and Modern Social Problems?</i>).....	11
Dawson and Gettys: <i>Introduction to Sociology</i>	11
Bogardus: <i>Introduction to Sociology</i>	11
Hart: <i>The Science of Social Relations</i>	10

Keep in mind that these figures do not necessarily represent all of the adoptions these books have had, but only the adoptions from this particular list of 502 schools, and only as basic texts in the introductory course. Some of these, as well as some from the longer list of 44, have a wider use in advanced courses than in the introductory course. But the very fact that in this list of 44, such books as Hawthorne's "*Rural Sociology*, Ogburn's *Social Change*, and Kroeber's *Anthropology* appear as introductory texts, shows something of our diversity of thought. To the four "ways" which the writer of Proverbs admitted were too wonderful for man to understand he might have added 'the way of sociologists.' It will be noticed that the four leaders in the above list (Blackmar and Gillin, Hankins, Ross, Davis, Barnes et al.) are very different, both in content and treatment. They represent three—possibly four—distinct points of view. And by taking the whole list of 44, one could teach almost anything he wished, from anatomy to philosophy, and

still be safely within the fold. Whatever our sins, we can hardly be called exclusive. Perhaps there is more than one variety of sociology, but it seems a little presumptuous to try to rival Heinz!

Where, then, do we stand in this maze of ideas concerning sociology and its gateway? And how find our way out of the labyrinth? We appear to be divided into three groups. Some do not want to get out, for they do not admit there is a labyrinth; others do want to get out, but have little sense of direction—and forgot to bring their compass! Furthermore, they refuse to trust the compasses of their fellows. There is a third group, honestly seeking a way out, proceeding rather slowly and uncertainly, oftentimes discouraged and somewhat bewildered because the needle is so unsteady, but *proceeding* nevertheless. Probably most of us are in one of these groups. Each may classify himself.

There is urgent need for work on this matter. There is an abundance of unplanned conversation about it but a paucity of organized thought and discussion. Twenty years ago a committee of ten, appointed by the American Sociological Society, made a study of the treatment of the elementary course in sociology in various schools, and reported at the St. Louis meeting in 1910. It is difficult to know just how much has been done since then, but a search through the last ten years of the American Journal of Sociology revealed not a single article on the question, while the Proceedings during the same period yielded only $3\frac{1}{2}$ pages, and that in one issue only. As long as the introductory course remains a disturbing element in the otherwise tranquil existence of sociologists, we cannot attain Nirvana.

III

FURTHER SUGGESTIONS CONCERNING THE CONTENT OF
AN ELEMENTARY COURSE

FRANK H. HANKINS

IN THE present nebulous and expanding state of the sociological field it is not to be expected that there will be agreement as to the content of the introductory course. It is not desirable, in fact, that there should be. Moreover, it is much easier for one to say what he would not include than to be logically clear and certain as to what he would include. I begin with some general considerations, pass to what I would not do, and end with a few observations on what it seems to me best to attempt.

Most of what one can say on this topic represents his personal predilections; we are in the realm of opinion rather than of scientific verities. Most of us cherish the view that the study of sociology will make the student a more useful citizen, but I do not conceive this to be a conscious aim. It is incidental to the cultivation of larger understanding, a sense of relativity and some degree of objectivity with respect to one's own culture. Nor does this course aim to make the student more moral, or more immoral, more humane, or more socially-minded. It should be purged of reformist sentiment. It is not designed for prospective social workers. It should not make the community a laboratory and should otherwise avoid false pretenses at research.

The content of the course will vary necessarily from one institution to another in view of the courses given in related departments, the degree of maturity of students, the college year in which given. It must consider whether students have already had courses in genetics, human geography, psychology, and social psychology,

or a general orientation course in the social sciences. In general it seems to me to be good pedagogy to allow the instructor as free a hand in organizing his course as the exigencies of the situation permit. In our subject no man can teach another's course with the zest and success he can teach his own. Texts and syllabi, therefore, that seem bad to some may be used with excellent results by others. Moreover, there are probably several good ways of giving this course. Different contents will doubtless give different bodies of factual information; and the student's mental slants will doubtless reflect those of the instructor and the readings, when they do not reflect their opposites. But if at all well-taught he will have learned something about fundamental viewpoints and moot theoretical problems and will have acquired a sociological vocabulary and a somewhat altered mental outlook. I suppose it safe to assume that the course will ordinarily be taken by sophomores who have little work in related fields; and that it must not only be introductory to a rather broad range of departmental courses which follow but so complete in itself as to be taken with profit by students who will take no other course in the department.

One might classify the principal content of courses now being given under the following heads: social problems; outlines of social evolution; cultural evolution, its nature and processes; social interaction; social psychology, from the standpoints both of individual personality in a cultural setting and of group behavior; the history of social theories; detailed descriptions of

local communities; and various compounds of the foregoing. In fact, all the texts and syllabi that I have examined contain a mixture of these ingredients, so that differences are largely matters of emphasis. And these differences rest not upon any final analysis of the province of sociology, but upon the interests and intellectual equipment of the authors. They indicate, I think, that sociologists as a whole would like to see society as an evolving unity, but that the data are so complex as not yet to have been reduced to systematic synthesis.

I should not begin with social problems; I should rather end with them, or introduce sidelights on them at logical places in the course. The student is not prepared by broad theoretical training to study special problems in more than a superficial way. This criticism would have little validity if a half or whole semester were devoted to the analysis of one problem in all its ramifications throughout the domain of theoretical sociological interests. As usually given, however, the student is rushed through a problem a month and is likely to gain little insight into either the complexity or the basic factors of social life. He is likely to still cherish the ancient prejudice that sociology is the pseudo-science of uplift and the hundred per cent American delusion that social reform is merely a matter of wand waving. If given with time and patience from the standpoint of the project method of sociological analysis rather than solutions, the problems course may doubtless produce valuable results; but at its best it seems to me less efficient than a more direct attack upon basic facts and theories. For somewhat like reasons I would not devote the first course to reading detailed descriptions of American communities. The student lacks the theoretical appreciation to make the material sociologically significant.

Such material may be, however, and should be introduced as case material wherever apropos. I should reserve systematic study of the history of social theories for an advanced course.

Coming then to the more difficult part of this discussion; namely, my predilections for an introductory course for sophomores, it seems to me that the best content cultivates an awareness of society as an evolving whole, some knowledge of the factors involved in such evolution and of the basic institutions of social organization. I see all living things as involved in an evolutionary process tending toward but never fully realizing a state of mutual adaptation. This applies to societies, institutions, durable groups and individuals. The study of social evolution may be approached from several levels all more or less logically distinct but acting and reacting upon each other. We have at the basis a population and its geographic habitat. At the top we have all that is comprehended in the word culture, which is the human form of adaptation to habitat. Between these two levels we have all those processes involved in the development of personalities in relation to the cultural setting and those involved in the interaction of individuals and groups. Between all these levels there is constant action and reaction which makes of a social system a moving equilibrium of shifting elements. The geographical situation, for example, reacts on all the higher levels and may itself be so modified by group action as to profoundly affect all that goes on at the top, as when deforestation results in soil erosion, depopulation and cultural decay. The habitat also acts on the population by setting up selective processes which affect both quantity and quality and hence cultural change. The cultural setting reacts on the utilization of natural resources, on the numbers of the

population, on the selective processes within the population, on the development of personalities, on the processes of acculturation, accommodation, assimilation, conflict, domination and other forms of interaction of individuals and groups. And so on.

What this signifies to my mind is that society and culture are not one and the same thing. It also suggests that the social processes are too narrowly defined when they are limited either to the evolution of personality or to the interaction of persons. That there is some confusion here is shown by the definitions of terms in common use. I find in a recent text that has very properly met with wide use the definition of society on one page as that body of practices, traditions, etc. that define the relations of individuals to each other; and on the next page it is used as synonymous with a group of human beings. If society is the comprehensive term meaning an organized human group carrying on a relatively independent and complete existence, then an introduction to a study of it should try to analyze those conditions and processes which affect its life as a whole and to give some insight into its organization and the stages of its development. This is indeed a large order, and in the present state of knowledge I do not think anyone can pretend to fill it except most inadequately. But at least it should be admitted that a study of those problems which the social psychologist is rapidly making his own is not an adequate introduction. Nor does one achieve the full goal by limiting himself to the study of the culture which is a product of society and the social processes.

What we should strive for, therefore, in the introductory course is, first, a somewhat comprehensive view of the main fac-

tors in social life and their action and reaction one upon another. These factors are commonly classified as physiographic, biological, psychological, and cultural. If the constant interaction of these factors is kept in mind, such study will give the student some insight into the complexity of social processes and of society as a going concern. Secondly, there should be some study of social organization and social control. This involves a study of coöperation, of class and caste stratification, and of the social rôle of the mores, law, religion, and public opinion. This should give the student a realization of society as a highly integrated whole, as a complex continuum, engaged like every other living thing in a struggle for existence and power, composed of a vast network of interdependent parts to which the life of the individual is in last analysis quite subordinate.

Finally, I think there should be some study of social evolution, both of special institutions and of the social aggregate in the large. Here the basic institutions may be singled out for individual study, a special effort being made to give insight into recent developments and present trends in relation to the life of society as a whole. A year of intensive study is necessary for such a course if one is to avoid superficiality and to give the student time to synthesize his ideas. Within such a scheme there may be varying degrees of emphasis on particular cultural processes and upon the relations of individual development and of collective behavior to those patterns represented by the folkways and the mores. But I should think the first course would not be introductory to the field of sociology unless it strove for a unitary view of a whole society in a process of evolutionary change.

IV

A USEFUL APPROACH

CARL A. DAWSON

SOCIOLOGY has often been presented to the student beginner in terms of an opinionative discussion of the social issues of the day. Hot arguments ensued and moral judgments were provoked with indecent haste. The controversial approach tends to sharpen the wits of the student and it develops dialectical skill. However, the selection of materials and the employment of methods which arouse the vocal abilities of the participant unobserver readily sidetrack the patient observation of the plain facts of his social world. "Wait and see" may not be a good wartime slogan, but it is the way in which the man proceeds who wishes to make even a modest contribution to sociological knowledge. If it were in good taste I might mention the names of two noteworthy American sociologists who to the end of their lives were painstaking and impartial recorders of social data.

No doubt most of us are primarily interested in situational procedure and we are endeavoring to discover in actual social situations the object matter of our science. There are many types of situational procedure which may claim the attention of the objective student of social behaviour. One might choose to introduce sociology to the student through a study of the person in the typical situations in which his behaviour patterns become established. Such an approach leads eventually to a knowledge of groups and institutions in given cultural areas, for these come to focus in the life organization of the person. This has been demonstrated in the extensive studies of W. I. Thomas and the more recently published research of Clifford

Shaw. Similarly it is possible to present in all its completeness the natural history of a social institution and in so doing bring to the attention of the novice all the main sociological conceptions. Still another possibility is the systematic study of a community or an area. By means of an intensive analysis of any one of the sociological units I have just mentioned, all the main sociological concepts would be involved although they would appear in a different order in the given unit of approach. One objection to such a type of introductory text may be suggested. Monographic studies have been neither complete nor numerous enough to form the basis of a sociological introduction organized exclusively under any one of the units—the person, the institution, the community or the area. At the present stage in the development of sociological knowledge the wise course seems to be the combination of these basic sociological units in a comprehensive system. Whatever unit may be chosen in the initiation of the system as a whole, depends upon the pedagogical perspective of the teacher, but when that unit has been selected, the whole treatment must proceed naturally and logically from that point. In this introductory text all the important concepts appear with a moderate degree of definition. Their full significance can be far more successfully given in terms of an adequate description of the actual social situations which they denote. In the sociological summary which follows the descriptive data, the concept may be employed as a tool of explantion.

1. The community is the initial sociological unit to be presented in this introduction. From

a pedagogical point of view there are certain advantages in selecting the community as the sociological unit to be presented at the outset. An actual community is taken and described quite concretely but described, nevertheless, from the sociological point of view. As a matter of fact it seems quite essential that the text in all of its descriptive and explanatory materials should maintain throughout a consistent sociological point of view. This initial realistic consideration of a community directs the student to sociological matter which is reasonably familiar and which at the same time makes for the development of an objective attitude. Such an approach calls up by way of comparison features of his community—for every student belongs to a community—which he is now able to view far more impersonally. This mode of approach avoids thrusting the student prematurely into a discussion of the instincts and "springs of action." A consideration of these hypothetical elements at the outset leads all too readily into heated controversy rather than scientific calm.

2. *Distribution in space and time.* The student soon learns that communities and their constituent elements may be considered from the point of their world-wide distribution in space and time. He discovers that the local area is not a closed unit except as it may be necessary to treat it segmentally for certain purposes. It may also be observed that races and institutions invade and succeed. Individuals come and go. Individuals and institutions occupy a discrete position in space which can be displayed on a map of the world. But this present definition in space is only relatively permanent. Addresses change—perhaps only once in a lifetime, but maybe over night. Some local aggregations dwindle or disappear and their functions in part or in whole are

taken over by their competitors. Or again, local constituent elements may be reassembled on the old geographic base or they may occupy a new location in space. In studying the settlement process in pioneer areas in western Canada, we have observed that many villages are lifted bodily from their old positions on a trail to new locations on a railroad many miles from the old locations. Relocation in such a wholesale fashion is not so easy for a city like New York because it is so naturally and deeply rooted. But a great many of its constituent ecological elements are being constantly reassembled in new metropolitan locations.

Since the student has been confronted with the readily observable facts of the spatial distribution of human beings and their institutions, he has been prepared quite naturally for a consideration of the processes involved. In dealing in a scientific and systematic way with this whole matter of selective distribution in space and time, we have taken our cue in part from the plant ecologists and we now designate this form of analysis *human ecology*. By means of the ecological concepts we are able to discern with greater clarity that there are aspects of our most tangible sociological units in their space relations which are as impersonal and external as plants are in their space relations. The test of the reality of this point of view is demonstrated by the predictability,—the scientific control—to which it leads.

3. *Statistical technique and ecological data.* It is in respect to this basic ecological data that statistical procedure may be most accurately applied. Here we are dealing with objects which are tangible and measurable. Well-established social areas manifest a high degree of social solidarity. They exhibit a cultural resistance to the invasion of new population elements and

alien institutional forms. The ecological content of this invasion may receive a specific quantitative statement in statistical terms. In consequence, the ecological data may be employed in formulating indices of social change and stability. For ecological position lies at the base and determines the nature and direction of social interaction. It rests with the particular department how far it wishes to use statistical devices in the introductory course. I have no doubt that there will be an increasing use of statistical procedure in all sociological courses. Ecological analysis makes possible the use of mathematical technique as an integral element in the field of sociology rather than the futile frill it so often is in many of our present day sociological monographs. Because ecological data is tangible and measurable its use encourages in the student the attitude of objectivity. It was just this drive toward objectivity which the late Dean Albion Small characterized as the core of the whole sociological movement.

4. *Social interaction and the social order.* Having observed the more tangible and more readily observable data which can be defined in space and time, the student proceeds to study the more complex processes and products of social interaction to which the ecological base affords an index. As we have indicated, it sets the stage and determines the direction in which the social processes operate. For location in space and time in respect to residence and specialized vocational and leisure-time activities, determines the neighbours, acquaintances, and the rivals of persons and groups in a given social world. In such fashion are social boundaries defined and social situations broadly determined. Within these boundaries social forms, simple and complex, emerge.

Social interaction has long been a central

concept in sociology. Sociologists have consistently maintained that the development of human nature, personality and the mechanistic patterns of group behaviour are the products of social interaction. The earnest endeavor to understand how the relatively discrete units, whether individuals, institutions or territorial groups enter into communication with each other, approach and inter-penetrate each other's inner citadels, has stimulated the refinement of the well tested concepts of social analysis. No sociological text would be complete without the cycle of adjustment which extends through conflict, accommodation and assimilation which comes to its end in the status of persons, of groups, and of their institutional forms in an integrated social order. The student learns to trace the natural history of the societal objects and objectives which give a relative concurrence and fixity to human impulses. Societal trends have a deterministic sweep which is relatively independent of egocentric vagaries.

Nor do I wish to convey the notion that, though I have given a somewhat extended statement of the ecological factors, that a useful introduction emphasizes the ecological as over against the cultural approach. The cultural materials fall into their natural place in this sociological system. They face the student in the discussion of the community and its institutions as units of social organization. In their more material and less intimate forms they find their place in the ecological analysis. In their more intimate and pervasive aspects they appear in the entire succeeding social analysis. It is most important for the introductory or any other student that the cultural factors be presented as integral elements of a formally organized sociological system. For the sake of the introductory student as well as for the

advancement of sociological analysis, the sociologist of whatever school needs to keep close to the ground and close to the world of actual social behaviour. The extraordinary research emphasis in our time may serve as a salutary correction of visionary hypothesizing.

5. The person and the form of social control. The more extended discussion of personality, human nature, and social attitudes should, it seems to me, be kept in the background until the objective aspects of culture and social organization are seen in clear outline by the introductory student. The individual is born into some type of social world whether stable or unstable. He is conditioned by it from the outset. The student is now ready to deal with the processes by which personality is organized. Already he has become familiar with the social structure with its ecological base. He must now take account of the physiological organism and the nature of its unconditioned modes of response. Gradually these relatively undefined impulses of original nature are fixed and coördinated in habit and attitude while the individual simultaneously takes over the social behaviour patterns, achieves his status in the group and becomes a person—

or to put it in another form, we say that he has passed from impulsive to socially-controlled behaviour. The organism is dynamic rather than passive in this whole process of incorporation in group life and institutional control. Personality continues to have in a more clearly defined way this dynamic character. Where the person does not obtain adequate expression for his innate impulses and his acquired attitudes under the current forms of social control, he becomes restless and social control tends to break down either as far as he is concerned or in a wholesale fashion if large numbers of persons become overly restless and discontented. In a sense, the person plays a rôle in social change analogous to the rôle played by impulse in the formation of a new habit. From this point forward the student continues to keep close to the actualities of the physical organism and the patterns of the social world in following the trends of disorganization and reorganization which effectually link up personality and social structure or if you will, the subjective and objective sides of culture. Throughout the entire text the aim is to see the play of sociological processes in an actual social world.

V

A PROPOSED REORGANIZATION OF THE INTRODUCTORY COURSES

MALCOLM M. WILLEY

IT IS not far from accuracy to state that there are as many definitions of sociology as there are those who profess to be sociologists. To some, sociology is merely an application of the findings of biology to affairs of group life, while to others "the social" does not exist—only individual nervous systems are realities,

and sociology, its body absorbed in psychology, is the grin of the Cheshire cat. Within recent years there has developed a group of students who contend that sociology is the study of culture, with the result that in their expositions sociology is made into a contemporary ethnology. Another important body of writers trans-

forms sociology into a synthetic subject wherein the findings of the other sciences, natural and social, are correlated and woven together—the amalgam is then called sociology.

This gives rise to consequences that in themselves serve only to augment the confusion. A well known scholar is able to take materials that to many would seem "sociological" and issue them under the title *Social Psychology*, while two other equally well known scholars take materials, generally regarded as psychological and call the result sociology (Kimball Young, *Source Book for Social Psychology* and W. I. Thomas and Dorothy Thomas, *The Child in America*, respectively). In the field of research a similar condition prevails. Students of sociology write theses on topics obviously political, and political scientists prepare materials of which any sociologist might be proud. Jessie Bernard in the first chapter of *Trends in American Sociology* traces the growth of the subject and includes summaries of numerous surveys which were undertaken to ascertain what is taught in college departments of sociology, with the assumption that what is taught is sociology. She calls attention to the truth of the observation that sociology is whatever a group of men calling themselves sociologists study. There is greater accuracy in this than in arguing that what is taught must be sociology—for here the variety and range are great. What is taught is often a matter of accident, more often it is a matter of tradition, and not uncommonly it reflects the personal interests of staff members at any given time. One cannot fail to observe, too, that the appearance of a striking book by a writer calling himself a sociologist not infrequently gives rise to courses throughout the country taken from the title of the book, with the book, presumably, as the text. (For example, fol-

lowing the publication of E. A. Ross' *Social Control*, courses in social control began to appear; and Sorokin's *Social Mobility* has introduced mobility into the sociology curriculum.)

All of this is intended to be indicative of the confusion in the field even in the minds of sociologists. There is no need to labor the point further; the fact remains, as is attested by examination of the literature of sociology itself.

If the condition suggested above remained purely academic, a subject for discussion at annual meetings and for perennial surveys, it would matter but little. Unfortunately there are consequences of a far more important and practical significance.

If one turns to the natural sciences, there exists a certain exactness, so far as subject matter is concerned, that is impressive. Within the general domain of the social sciences this exactness is not entirely wanting. While the agreement might not be complete, it is true that, in general, students would not deviate greatly in their conception, for example, of the nature of economics. Perhaps the same may be said of political science; certainly it may be said of history. The approaches to the discussion of problems may differ widely within any one of these: there are quantitative political scientists and descriptive political scientists, but they understand each other's problems, at least the nature, or type, of these problems. Even the sociologist understands what is meant by political science! Casual inspection of textbooks in political science or economics shows the general framework of concepts to be similar.

That the problems of the social sciences were not clearly focused in earlier periods of their development is of no direct concern here. Their historical development shows a gradual recognition of certain

problems which were grouped and gave rise to the specific fields of study. Professor Seligman has suggested this admirably in his Introduction to the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. One may envisage the development of the social science as the growth in awareness of types of problems;¹ one by one the separate disciplines have become differentiated from what originally was an undifferentiated field of observation and study.

Following this point somewhat further it is necessary to notice that the identity of the social sciences other than sociology is not a matter of sharp demarcation of lines between them. There is clear evidence that no sharp demarcation does or can exist. What has been delimited are certain problems: those pertaining to organized government are classed as political science; and similarly those pertaining to international relations, the development and administration of law; the genesis and development of constitutions; the problems of public administration; and comparative government. There may be border line problems or problems that make it necessary to touch allied fields, as when problems of municipal administration may involve matters pertaining to public utilities. Similarly in considering the field of economics the type of problems with which economists are concerned come clearly to mind: problems of business organization—marketing, production, exchange; money and banking, business cycles, public utilities, public finance, and transportation. Economists and political scientists are now little if any concerned with attempts to set the boundaries of their subjects; their problems occupy their attention. All of which suggests a Bib-

lical paraphrase: by their problems shall ye know them.

It follows from this development of specific problems and a definition of subjects in terms of these problems rather than in terms of abstract "fields" of investigation that a factual basis for the subjects is established. There are measurable data capable of systematic manipulation and analysis. The subject matter is tangible. The very growth of the subject is the formulation of tangible problems, not hitherto dealt with by social scientists. It is probably not inaccurate to say that the subject developed from the problems, not the problems from the subject.

All of this has its implications in a consideration of sociology. There has been and still is a preoccupation of the students with the field of their specialty, as though a delimitation of the field were the matter of primary importance. This has led to an overemphasis on the concepts of sociology for, it would be argued by many, the uniqueness of sociology lies in the uniqueness of its concepts; its field is the field encompassed by these concepts. This ordinarily is the point at which the generalities enter. Even when a body of factual data is introduced it is not infrequently for the purpose of justifying, or "proving" the validity of some concept, as may be observed by perusal of the "Dissertations in Progress" as published annually in the American Journal of Sociology. As a member of the Social Science Research Committee on Fellowships in the Social Sciences the conceptual nature of the problems presented by applicants in the field of sociology struck me repeatedly, especially when contrasted with the precision of the formulation of the problems of the applicants in the other social sciences. In my judgment this is an important factor in explaining why of 87 fellowships granted by the Council in its first five

¹ The word *problems* as used in this discussion designates "fields of research" or "areas within which factual data are to be amassed" and not "situations calling for remedy and reform."

years, only eight were to students in sociology.

It is not unnatural that there should be some type of selection within the social sciences, and that it should work to the disadvantage of sociology. One may suggest how this is not unlikely to operate: those students whose minds through training or natural ability have come to think with precision, and whose interests fall within the social sciences, will tend to pursue their study in those subjects where precision is greatest. Those students who are intellectually out of focus, whose intellectual life has been "fuzzy," or who through lack of training or ability are incapable of attaining the standards of the exacter and more specific—that is, factual—social sciences will drift into sociology, where their own vagueness of mind finds repose in the indefiniteness of the concepts generally current. Or, the somewhat philosophical, conceptualized nature of the subject matter will attract those students who, but for some undeterminable factor, might have become philosophers. These may be excellent students, playing skilfully with ideas and concepts, yet not developing their materials along what would commonly be regarded as precise lines. Sociology, it may thus be argued, may tend to select from all possible social science students those who are philosophically-minded and those who are repelled by standards of exactness.

The tendency to generality is not lessened by introductory courses into which students are now placed. Where elementary sociology is taught as an eclectic composite it can be little more than an orientation course in which materials from geography, psychology, biology and other fields are surveyed rapidly, and the most general impressions given to the student. Where sociology is taught in terms of

selected concepts or in terms of social "processes" the indefinite nature of these contributes to the results we have been deplored. If the elementary course becomes a consideration of race, immigration, poverty, etc., in turn, so little time is devoted to each that nothing but superficiality can develop.

A more recent conception of the field of sociology has such direct bearing upon the teaching of the subject that it seems advisable to elaborate it somewhat here. From the work of the anthropologists, especially the American group, many theoretical formulations have been taken over by the sociologists. Particular attention has been given to the concept of "culture." It has been argued that the field of sociology is the field of the study of culture, its processes, and the problems of man's adjustment to the culture. There has been a tendency to differentiate the fields of human experience and to distinguish what have been called "superorganic" phenomena from others. There is no question that the cultural sociologists have made something of a contribution to the social sciences as the result of their emphasis upon culture. In their enthusiasm, however, they have tended to identify an entire subject with a method of approach. It was partially an accident that it was the group calling themselves sociologists that first developed the implications of the anthropological researches and organized them into a system. This development might equally well have come at the hands of the economists or the political scientists. To identify sociology with the study of culture, and the mechanisms of culture, is to overlook the fact that economic phenomena, political phenomena, and historical phenomena are also superorganic. Cultural mechanisms cut across all of the social sciences and are not to be identified with one more than with another. For

example, diffusion is as important a concept in the field of economics as it is in the field of the family.²

A sociology as outlined here would, like economics and political science or history, be a sociology centered around definite areas of investigation that have been segregated within the social sciences, but as yet not subjected to analysis by workers in the other fields. It would be *sociology* on the same basis that economics is economics. The analysis of culture processes would stand in equal relation to all the social studies, cutting across them all as does statistics, or the case method. The result would be a sociology that is factual and specific, because the problems with which it is concerned are factual and specific—as much so as those of the other social sciences. Theory is not ruled out, nor attempts to weave together the findings of all the social studies: these become late steps rather than the introductory ones.

What are the fields in which there has been sufficient accumulation of data to permit classification as sociology? *Several may be suggested*, and all are now, by general consent, ordinarily regarded as sociology: The study of crime and the problems of the criminal; Study of the family; Study of Population; Study of race relations; Study of recreation and leisure (recreation movement); Poverty and dependency; Study of the humane movement; Study of Religion; Study of development of intercommunication; Study of the newspaper as a social institution; Study of housing. Material for factual study is available with reference to all of these. Sociology in terms of these accumulated data would be a fac-

² The validity of the concept of *culture* and the importance of an understanding of it are not being questioned here. Exception is being taken only to the identification of sociology as "the study of culture."

tual sociology. Theory and supposition would be reduced to a negligible point. That these subjects involve "problems" which may with certain individuals engender reform motives is an incidental point that has no necessary bearing upon the study of the subjects.

It is the implication of this position in the teaching of introductory students that is important. Students might to advantage enter the subject by a consideration of these specific problems rather than by a consideration of the highly generalized "principles," or technical considerations of culture, as is now the usual practice. To plunge the student directly into *courses* devoted in turn to the accumulated data in each of several of the fields suggested above should go far to remove the vagueness and indefiniteness that now characterize undergraduate sociology. The "fuzzy minded" would be eliminated with a certain promptness, and the students to whom definiteness and precision appeal, and who are interested in problems where fact and precision are found, would be attracted—even as they are now attracted by economics, political science, and history, and the natural sciences. It would also be expected that, proceeding to advanced work, they would frame problems with the exactness of the student of economics, political science, or history. From top to bottom there would be greater likelihood of definiteness of thought.

The introduction to sociology, according to these suggestions, comes in a series of highly factual courses which the student takes in no special order. Two years of work are easily possible with materials of these kinds. Advanced courses are specializations within any or all of the subjects. Social theory, philosophies of history, and attempts at correlation, properly come after the rigorous introduction. Culture processes and their implications

for all of the social studies are considered after the factual background has been secured; the student is then in a position to see their implication. Such theory courses are for the mature and not the elementary student.

Numerous administrative points may be raised, but they are passed with brief discussion here. While only a preliminary attempt has been made to fit such a plan as described here to an actual college situation, this indicates that so far as the securing of credits, etc., is concerned, no fundamental difficulty is involved. In his junior and senior year the student has ample time to master the materials in sociology. In his first two years of work he has time to secure a grounding in history or whatever other subjects may be felt essential. There must be certain "required" tool courses to precede the sociology of the junior and senior years, or to be taken at the outset of the junior year, when the student is beginning his sociology. Statistics, for example, is essential

to the sociology program, and also a knowledge of what is involved in the case method. (These tool subjects should be taken by all social science majors; they are as important for the others as for sociology.)

Accompanying any curriculum revision such as it is contemplated here there also should probably be introduced a popular orientation course or a miscellaneous lecture course for first or second year students of all departments of the college. In state universities particularly, large numbers of students are admitted who do not complete their junior college years. For them a bowing acquaintance with social science materials is highly desirable. For them a technical presentation is not feasible, even though it is now attempted frequently. Factually sound yet popularized discussions of social science materials (journalistic, in the best sense of the word) would serve a definite purpose. These should not be prerequisite to later work in sociology.

A NEW APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF INDIVIDUALISM

V. F. CALVERTON

The Modern Quarterly

WE HAVE become so accustomed to think of individualism as synonymous with the spirit of the modern age that we have taken little time to study its numerous manifestations or define its common and yet various origins. In fact, we have taken the word in its most generic sense, lumped a hundred things under it, and used it thereafter in the same loose sense that we have used the word *science* in the last few generations. As a result, it has served to confuse rather than clarify

our approach to the problems it has created.

Now the purpose of this essay is not to deal with the early evolution of modern individualism in Italy and Holland, but to treat of several of its more advanced manifestations in England and America, stressing differences in expression rather than in origin. Our first task, however, is to clarify the concept. Admitting the difficulty of ever being able to define such a concept in words satisfactory to many, the

best approach is to discover its meaning in terms of its antithesis. Feudal society, everyone will admit, was non-individualistic. Now what was it about feudal society that made it so? In the first place, feudal society was a strongly-regimented affair, as rigid in its caste lines as in its economic regulations. Man was born to his lot, so to speak, and in the main he was forced to stick to it until he died. The structure of society was too fixed to permit of deviations in its organization. The individual, in other words, found his place in society in terms of birth and not of environment. It is only with the rise of the middle-classes, a rise at first very slow and insecure, that exceptions begin to occur. Chaucer, who wrote for these middle-classes, is one of the earliest of these exceptions. Only when these exceptions are able to increase, and a tendency favoring their advance is established, does a philosophy arise to justify their existence. This philosophy naturally takes on a character in keeping with the tendency which it expresses. Its ideology is determined by the psychology of those whom it defends, the exceptions who seek, by their justificatory dialectic, to become a rule. It does not seek to justify any other tendency, however, but its own. It is not humanitarian, therefore, except in terms of its own humanity, the humanity of its group. Now, it was these exceptions, converging, as they increased, into a tendency—their exceptionalism, to be sure, derived from the changing economic structure of feudal society, coincident with the coming of the commercial revolution—which provided the background for the philosophy of modern individualism.¹

¹ I say *modern*, because individualism as a form if not as a philosophy found expression in various stages of ancient society as well as in modern. But these older individualisms, embraced in cruder conflicts, were never driven to the point where a new ideology was necessary for their survival.

Once the tendency deepened and solidified it became an entity in itself, as it were, existing by its own right and within the laws of its own creation.

The development of merchant economy on an ever-widening and increasing scale gave the first direct and decisive impetus to its formation. The Puritan group in England, primarily because it was the first middle-class group to snatch power from the aristocracy, is always referred to as the earliest embodiment of the merchant class ideology.² This reference, to be sure, is not exact. A middle-class ideology had already begun to develop in England before Puritanism arose. Puritanism, a sort of off-shoot of the Lollard tradition, deriving much of its inspiration from the doctrines of Dissent,³ provided a common nucleus about which this ideology could crystallize. Individualism with the Puritan, however, was scarcely individualism as the modern age has come to understand it. The Puritan's attitude in fact was as social as it was individualistic. As a merchant he was impeccably honest, for while he made a whole religion conform to his economy he did not think of his economics as something apart from his religion. As an individual he was close to his goods, the goods he bought and sold; he stood up for them, so to speak, was responsible for them, as responsible for them as he was for his own character. Strict moral discipline governed every economic transaction. As R. H. Tawney has shown, the Puritans lived with the moral understanding that "they must not take advantage of the necessities of individual buyers, must not overpraise their wares, must not sell them dearer merely because they have cost them much to get." Sharp

² Cf. Max Weber *The Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism*, R. H. Tawney's *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*.

³ Cf. *The Religious Background of American Culture*, Thomas Cuming Hall.

penalties were meted out to the Puritan who failed to observe moral discipline in his economic relations as well as in his spiritual relations. As Bancroft has stated, the offenders were first admonished and, admonishment failing, excommunicated. The Puritan philosophy was in keeping with the spirit of a class struggling for supremacy; once its supremacy was established, however, its moral discipline weakened, and with the coming of machinery and the rise of the manufacturing class, its spiritual meaning was destroyed in entirety.

Now the individualistic attitude of the Puritan marks the first definite, focalized departure from the non-individualistic spirit of feudalism. Business, which was the main occupation of the Puritans, thus caused the first decisive rupture in feudal relationships. It made it possible for certain individuals to forge a place for themselves in society by means of certain economic virtues: shrewdness, cunning, thrift. Though their birth was of lowly character, they might rise by means of their individual talents into persons of esteem and power. Not everyone thus could rise, it is true, and the Puritanic ideology did not favor everyone, but only those ones who were chosen, those, in other words, who embodied the virtues which Puritanism extolled and who were within reach of the opportunities of the period. The serf and the poor townsman had no place in the Puritanic graph of values. Their low position, in the eyes of the Puritan, was due to themselves, their sloth, their lack of godliness, and not to the instigation of their environment. Puritanic individualism thus was the individualism of a class—and not of the mass. It made no appeal to those who were unable to rise. Its appeal was of meaning, then, only to those who came within its scope of progress. In brief, to those who

found society sufficiently fluid for them to advance and elevate themselves and their influence, despite their unaristocratic (or *ignoble*) birth, individualism was sound doctrine and dogma. To those who were denied such opportunity it was nothing more than a vacuous fiction, sterile of value.

Individualism thus represents struggle against social organization and regimentation, and to the extent to which it advances and social organization recedes, its influence is able to deepen and intensify. It becomes a way of life—and this is the first conclusion we are driven to in our analysis—a form of logic, for those it favors, or promises to favor, and not for those it does not. It became the Puritanic way of life, and form of logic, only because it favored the economic aspirations of Puritan endeavor.

But modern individualism has gone much further than the Puritanic way of life would have sanctioned. Why? Because modern individualism, in its far-reaching form, is not the product of a merchant economy, but of an industrial. Puritanism, as we have noted, was the product of a merchant economy, expressing, in its rigors and regulations the spirit of a merchant class in strife with a landed class. The individualism which it developed, therefore, was an individualism which strengthened it in this strife. But this form of individualism would never have spread throughout all layers of society if it had not been for the invention of machinery and the coming of the Industrial Revolution. The whole doctrine of individualism would have been confined to the merchant class, and never have exercised any influence upon the lower orders of the populace if it had not been for this new revolution, which shook out of joint the very structure of society. As we said before, and it is important to

repeat this, individualism has meaning only when the individual finds himself able to advance of himself, or at least perceives the promise of such advance, regardless of his order or station in life. It does not influence those who do not find themselves able to advance thus, or who cannot see the promise of such advance in the near future.

Now there is one period in the history of modern society which has never been sufficiently studied in terms of its psychological import and its ideological consequences, and that is the period which marked the change from a merchant economy to a manufacturing one. It is this period which provides the key to an understanding of individualism in its modern form, and to an appreciation of the origin of differences between individualisms in various parts of the world, particularly, for example, in England and America.

We are here on a trail, I believe, that will lead us, with further treading, to a new insight into the problem of individualism and the spirit of modern society. But let us see where it leads!

Contrary to the usual belief, society was almost as far from being fluid under merchant class hegemony as it is to-day under that of industrialists. It was only during that most important period, which we described before, when the invention of machinery began to make headway and manufacturing was in its first crude stages, that society took on a fluidity which it had never experienced before and, in all likelihood, will never experience again. During that period, or rather during that interval, individualism became a reality, with an impact and an intensity, that shook the souls of men. The air was tingling with new possibilities, furious with the promise of a sudden Utopia. The cost of machinery was still cheap; money was to be had for the borrowing—lending

became an important form of investment—and men plunged into new enterprise with the enthusiasm of young pioneers. Not even the merchant class could monopolize all the possibilities of the new production. Economic contradictions were at work here as well as psychological inertia. And thus, for a time, the field of advance was open to all comers. Proletarians rushed in as well as merchants, and while one succeeded where ten failed, the chance was there for almost everyone who would undertake the risk. The economic world had at last unfolded opportunities for the individual that were unconfined by class or rank—or at least opportunities that came as close to that ideal as society could ever offer. The status of *entrepreneur* was within reach of proletarian as well as merchant. The money needed for the investment was little. Only the initiative required was great. Like Robert Owen, who rose from proletarian to millionaire, workers with economic initiative became *entrepreneurs* by borrowing the first money that was needed for their enterprise. Hundreds of workers became *entrepreneurs* within a short space of years. As J. L. Hammond and Barbara Hammond have shown—"the men who pressed in were spinners, weavers, apprentices, anyone who could borrow a little money and was prepared to work like a slave and live like a slave master."⁴ Gaskell pointed out in more detail that "few of these who entered the trade rich were successful . . . the men who did establish themselves were raised by their own efforts, commencing in a very humble way, and pushing their advance by a series of unceasing exertions, having a very limited capital to begin with, or even none at all save that of their own labour."⁵

⁴ *The Town Labourer*, J. L. and Barbara Hammond, p. 8.

⁵ Gaskell, *The Manufacturing Population of England*, pp. 45-55.

In such a state of flux, class-lines naturally lost their old rigidity, and while most workers, it is true, became wage slaves instead of *entrepreneurs*, the presence of the possibility of advance and escape was enough to infect even the proletariat with an individualistic stamp of thought. This proletarian individualism lasted until the period of transition had passed, that is until industry had advanced, machinery become more costly, and class-lines established again. Then it ended, but not before.

Now without this transitional period, individualism as a philosophy would never have had any sway over the larger part of the populace, the proletariat. But it was just this very sway which made the proletariat as well as the middle class turn toward it as a mutual hope. But the proletariat turned in this direction only so long as the transitional period lasted, or rather only so long as its promise continued to last. Why did it turn thus? For exactly the same reasons that we have traced throughout this article, namely because the social structure at the time had become so fluid that advance was possible, even though opportunity was disproportionate, for almost every individual, those of the lower classes as well as those of the higher. It is only when such a state of economic flux prevails that individualism can root itself into the life of a people. When society is securely stabilized, and the rigid controls of social organization are everywhere operative, individualism has pertinence only to those in power, the ruling class, and even there its incentive is slight since its activity in many ways, under such conditions, is as established and routinized as that of the lower classes.

The development of individualism, then, and its influence upon society, are conditioned by the set-up of society, its lack of stabilization and rigification, which in

turn is a product of the economic forces at work at the time. It must not be thought, however, that an economic revolution in itself is an aid to individualistic advance. The Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth century, sometimes called the first Industrial Revolution, *gave individualism a momentum* which the earlier merchant economy could never have inspired; the Technological Revolution of the twentieth century, on the other hand, robbed individualism of its last vestiges of illusion. At the same time it must be remembered that lack of social stabilization alone is not enough for the development of an individualist ideology. In the chaos of a revolutionary era, for instance, a kind of frenetic individualism may emerge, but it is based upon the insecurity of the moment rather than upon any continued elasticity of social structure. *An individualist ideology depends for its growth, therefore, upon a synthesis of economic forces and social organization, which interact upon each other in such a manner as to create enough social instability to allow for the economic advance of the individual.*

The critical point in the process, as we have tried to show, and which conditions the character of the individualism which evolves, is to be found in that *transitional period*, marking off the change from a merchant to a manufacturing economy. Now if we turn to individualism as it developed in England and America we shall discover a striking illustration of our thesis. In England, as everyone knows, the *transitional period* was a comparatively brief one. The smallness of the country put an immediate limitation upon the possibilities of expansion. The control of the land by the aristocracy was also a handicapping factor which exercised a marked influence upon the industrial situation. But most important of all, the sources of power were extremely limited. Within a generation,

therefore, the first stages of transition had passed, and the period of social flux was over, industry had already begun to concentrate about the sources of power, and class-lines were rigidified once more, with the workers in a more helpless state than they had been before the change. By 1830 the employers had already become a definite class and by that time, as the Hammonds show, "the gulf between the workman and an employer whose father had been a workman, (would) be as wide and isolating as the gulf between men whose families had been apart for many generations." In all European countries, where industry spread, this transitional period was almost equally swift and short-lived. Geographic limitations alone made it inevitable. Consequently, with the exception of that transitional epoch, class-lines were always far from fluid, and the transition being so brief, individualism was never able to become the dominant philosophy of the working-classes in England or Europe. It was only the middle-classes which found individualism a defense and a faith—and that because it fitted in with its opportunities and advance.

But America was different. And therein lies the explanation of the American dilemma, the dilemma which reveals itself in our labor movement as well as in our life as a whole. The *transitional period* which was so brief in other countries was long-drawn-out and extended here. The geographical enormity of the country alone prolonged the process over the larger part of a century. The sources of power in the country covered what seemed to be an almost inexhaustible area. With the coming of modern means of transportation, industry could spread without undue concentration. The frontier, ever moving further and further west, opening up new possibilities as it spread, provided a psychological as well as economic outlet for

the pent-up populations of the cities. But the frontier was no myth. It was an active, living force, affecting American life in a profound and lasting way. It was its presence, a key-factor in the geographic cast of the country, which gave American life a different twist from the European. Without it, the *transitional period*, which we have spoken of now at considerable length, would have occupied as brief a span in America as in Europe. It was the fact that the *transitional period in America* extended over so many years which made the American mind, so to speak, or more precisely the mind of the masses, follow a different pattern from that of the European. As long as a condition of social fluidity prevailed, which made it possible for workers to become employers, individualism was bound to dominate the mind of the proletarian as well as that of the merchant and manufacturer, and class-lines could never become rigid. This was true wherever the *transitional period* occurred, and continued as long as it lasted.

America with its frontier provided an ever-promising escape for the proletarian. If life failed him in the city, where classes had already become definitized, there was always the west that allured him with its tale of fortunes and triumphs. Horace Greeley's admonition—"Go west, young man" had become part of the American creed long before it was uttered, and was believed in by proletarian as devoutly as by bourgeois. Now the mistake which is often made is that of looking upon this belief as a form of myth or fiction. We shall never be able to understand the American mind, the mind of our masses, or American life, however, until we realize that that belief was based upon a reality as firm as the foundation of a skyscraper. It was not the mere existence of the frontier that perpetuated the faith in individualism,

retarded the social organization of the proletariat, and prevented the sharp rigification of classes in America. It was only because the frontier did provide these conditions necessary for the growth and continuation of individualism that individualism was changed from a philosophy into a religion. If its promise had been merely an illusory one, its influence would have been ephemeral. The frontier, with the wide areas of territory which it constantly opened up for new settlements, new towns, and new cities, afforded a spur to individualistic enterprise which spread from coast to coast. Although the proletarians in the east and south felt the pressure of class-subordination, the ever-stirring prospect of the west prevented their minds from surrendering easily to despair. For, when all is said, men in the West did have a chance to do things, to achieve things, to advance.

The west prolonged the *transitional period*; it first gave men a chance with the land, and then when manufacturing began it supplied an even greater opportunity with the machine. Moreover, because of the tremendous sweep of territory, *congestion could not swiftly occur*, nor the individual be mowed down as readily by the machine. As a result of these factors, *individualism secured a foothold in America that it never acquired in any other country*—a foothold in the mind of the nation, as it were, affecting all classes, and rooting itself like a religion into the very essence of our culture.

It is this individualism, then, which is the basic psychological determinant in our ideology. In *England* individualism was primarily the property of the middle-classes. The proletariat was affected by it, as we have seen, for too short a period to adopt its doctrine as part of its permanent philosophy. In *America*, on the other hand, individualism was embraced

by the proletariat as well as the *bourgeoisie*, because the conditions of life in this country gave it meaning to the lower classes as well as to the upper. Now when such a state of mind continues over an extended period its psychological influence is prone to linger long after its economic causation has disappeared. And that is exactly what has happened in America. No other country has had such a long history of individualistic enterprise, in which the proletariat has not felt itself to be a proletariat at all, but part of a culture in which there are no definite fixed classes, and in which it is possible for the individual to rise from a lower class to an upper by the sheer power of energy and initiative. This emphasis upon the individual rather than upon the group, as we showed before, grew out of facts and not fictions. The individual did have a greater chance to rise in America than in any other country, for all the reasons which we have recounted, and the presence of that greater opportunity, thwarting class consciousness as it did, created the main part of the American dilemma.

Even today when every condition of life encouraging to this individualistic expression has vanished, the individualistic ideology has only begun to wane. Only in the economic field, where the coming of *mass production* has obviously made the free-functioning of the individual an ever diminishing phenomenon, has a consciousness of the change become fairly widespread. With the present crises in international economy, and with part of their disastrous consequences present in America at this very time, we are facing a *period* when economic forces have reduced the individual into a *microcosm* and individualism into a *remote recollection*. This is as a result of the economic rigification of modern life upon the lines of mass-production. The individual is being caught in

this new economic web as tightly as he ever was in that of feudal society. *The transitional period*, which disappeared in the physical sense of the word before the beginning of this century, has already begun to pass in psychological sense also. Individualism, even in the philosophic sense, therefore, has come to have less meaning and pertinence to our age.

Now what conclusions are to be derived from our analysis. The first conclusion that should be obvious is that, in the more precise sense of the word, *we should not speak of individualism but of individualisms*. While individualism as a whole, let us say, can be considered as an antithesis of feudalism, nevertheless the advance and influence of individualism has varied with every environment. In Germany, for example, where Luther is often alluded to as one of the first intellectual embodiments of the individualistic spirit, and where the Hanseatic League preceded the English hegemony of the seas, individualism notwithstanding was a retarded phenomenon. In fact due to a host of political and economic handicaps and confusions, individualism in Germany did not exercise an important influence upon the German people until after the Franco-Prussian War, and the unification of the German Empire. It is necessary to be aware of that fact in order to understand certain important

aspects of the German people and their heritage. Even the character of the German labor movement is involved in that observation. Then, too, as we have seen, English individualism is very different from American individualism, and this difference, as we have tried to show, is of significance in interpreting differences between English culture and American as well as between English life and American. *Individualisms must be studied in particular, then, rather than individualism as a whole.* There has been a great deal of study of the latter but very little of the former. The second conclusion we should draw is that *the transitional period*, bridging the change from a merchant to a manufacturing economy, is of great importance to an understanding of the forms that various individualisms have assumed, and we should realize, therefore, that a study of that period in various countries will be of value in interpreting the development of a culture, extending from its labor-movement to its literature. The third and last conclusion should be that individualism is dependent, in the last analysis, upon economic realities, and not upon verbal affirmations or prophecies. By means of such conclusions we are in a better position, I believe, to appreciate the place of individualism in twentieth century life and culture.

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FORMS OF POPULATION MOVEMENT: PROLEGOMENA TO A STUDY OF MENTAL MOBILITY

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PART II. CATEGORIES VIII TO XIII AND CONCLUSION

IN THE first part of this article (*SOCIAL FORCES*, December, 1930) the writer made some statements that should perhaps be repeated by way of orientation:

.... this . . . is an implicit and explicit criticism of all theorizing about . . . population movement which is not based upon culture case study, and intensive study at that. It was not designed as such a criticism when the investigation was first undertaken, but was intended simply as a preliminary survey of the field; the object was to observe, with as complete detachment from speculation and theory as possible, a wide range of population movements and their attendant phenomena. The article still primarily serves this purpose of observation, but in addition it carries implications and explicit formulations of the conclusion to which such observation guided the writer, namely, that the intensive study of a series of selected culture cases will tell us far more that is valid about the sociological aspects of population movement than all the comparison of fragments wrenched from their total setting that has heretofore passed muster.

"And now go on with the story."

VIII

Hidden in many of the categories thus far considered is an eighth factor which should be brought into the open. The relative accessibility or isolation of an area surely plays a large part both in the process of movement and in the results consequent to the process. Accessibility or its reverse may be primarily conditioned by strictly geographical factors, as in the cases of Attica and the Peloponnesus, or it may be but the reflection of vicinal factors. An illustration of the latter situation: the Holy Land was fairly accessible to pilgrims until about 1065 A.D.,

the date of the great German pilgrimage which was set upon so disastrously and which was a prelude to the First Crusade. After the Crusades began, accessibility and isolation of the Holy Places were by turns the rule, until finally the bars went up with the final triumph of the Turks over the Arabs, to stay up until well into the seventeenth century. The geographical accessibility was the same as ever, but none the less Palestine was *vicinally* isolated.

IX

We must not forget that movement does not take place in a vacuum; the density of population in both the primary culture-area (point of departure) and the secondary culture-area (point of arrival) surely makes some difference. At any rate, we shall reckon with it as our ninth point. Following Levasseur,¹ Ratzel² and Semple³ the following estimates of density of population are adduced:

Number square
miles per capita

TYPE OF ECONOMY AND HABITAT

Hunter tribes on the outskirts of the habitable area, as in Arctic America and Siberia.....	70 to 200
Hunter tribes, such as the Bushmen, Patagonians and Australians in arid lands like the Kalahari Desert and Western Queensland.....	40 to 200
Hunter tribes combining with the chase some primitive agriculture, such as the Shawnee, Cherokee and Iroquois Indians, Dyaks and Papuans in choice districts like northeastern and	

¹ E. Levasseur, *Journal de Statistique*, Paris, 1883.

² Ratzel, *Anthropogeographie*, 2. Teil, (Stuttgart; Engelhorn, 1899).

³ Semple, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

	Number of square miles per capita
central North America and New Guinea.....	5 to 2
Fishing peoples such as the Nootka and Tlingit on the northwestern coast of North America and the Columbia and similar rivers, and the inhabitants of the smaller Polynesian islands.....	Up to 5
Fishing peoples who also practise agriculture, such as the Trobrianders and Samoans dwelling in the larger islands of the South Pacific.....	Up to 25
Pastoral nomads such as the Bedouin, Hottentots and Khirgiz in semi-arid mesa (steppe) regions.....	(Sample) 2 to 5
Pastoral nomads practising some agriculture, such as those in the Kordofan and Senner districts of the Eastern Sudan.....	10 to 15
Agricultural peoples with the beginnings of trade and industry, such as those in equatorial Africa, the Malay Archipelago, and most of the Central American states.....	5 to 15
Agriculture practised with European methods in young or colonial lands, such as Arkansas, Texas, Minnesota, Hawaii, Canada or Argentina, or in climatically unfavorable European lands, supports.....	Up to 25
Purely agricultural lands of Central Europe support.....	Up to 100
Purely agricultural lands of Southern Europe support.....	200 to 300
Purely agricultural lands in lowland India, China or Java support.....	500 or more
Industrial districts of modern Europe, such as the Black Country in England, the Ruhr in Germany, Departments <i>Nord</i> and <i>Rhone</i> in France, and practically the whole areas of Belgium and Saxony have a density per square mile of.....	500 to 800*

* Much more in specific areas.

In short, human beings may be so scattered that they range through an area of two hundred square miles per capita, and they may be so crowded that they are cooped in much less than one one-thousandth of a square mile per capita. It would seem that a variation so great as this would certainly make a difference in the types of social change correlated with

movement *within* the several areas, and when one takes into account the manifold possibilities of movement *between* thinly and thickly settled regions, such quantitative inequality looms up as an element in movement that may mean a great deal in specific cases. When a boy reared in the Maine backwoods visits New York and stands at the corner of Forty-second and Broadway, when a family from Winnemucca, Nevada, strikes the helter-skelter of State and Madison in Chicago, when Amos the herdsman of Tekoa journeys to Jerusalem,⁴ when a peasant from the Black Forest is hurled into the maelstrom of the Ruhr,⁵ when a Hottentot from the veldt is herded into a Kimberley compound, when tribes of Liberian blacks begin to swarm into the Firestone rubber camps, when Mexicans from the scattered settlements in the mesa country of Coahuila squeeze "back o' the Yards"—then it is that differences in the relative population density of the primary and secondary areas may well play a significant part in the social changes so frequently correlated with such types of movement.

X

So much for classification on a population-density basis. A tenth head under which movement may be placed has to do with the relative complexities of the culture areas at the point of departure and the point of arrival. A great deal of movement, to be sure, does not pass beyond the bounds of a given culture, if we look at that culture telescopically, but if we look at it microscopically, we will see that almost any change of geographical location, no matter how small, involves a change in the culture area. The non-material culture frequently shows marked "spottiness;"

⁴ Amos 1: 1, 6: 14.

⁵ Heinrich Hauser, "Schwarzes Revier," *Die Neue Rundschau*, Oct., 1929, pp. 479-505.

contrasts may be much greater than in the material culture, although even within the confines of one city the material culture certainly cannot be called uniform when seen at close range. The work done by Park,⁶ Burgess,⁷ McKenzie,⁸ Wirth,⁹ Zorbaugh,¹⁰ Thrasher,¹¹ Mowrer,¹² Shonle,¹³ Anderson,¹⁴ and scores of others has clearly demonstrated the "spottiness" of the material culture and the existence of microscopic "natural areas," so that Park can speak of the city as "a mosaic of little worlds that touch but do not interpenetrate;" merely by crossing a street one may find greater contrasts than one might find in a journey across a continent. It is of course impossible to list all the various types of culture area which might be involved in a study of movement *per se*; we must content ourselves with a classification of culture areas, both of the telescopic and the microscopic varieties, as relatively complex, relatively simple, and dissimilar.

The type and extent of social change occurring in correlation with any given movement is influenced by the relative complexity, relative simplicity, or dissimilarity of the areas involved. At any rate, the writer strongly suspects this to be the case—strongly enough to include it as a classificatory element. Examples of movement

to a relatively complex culture area may be found in the irruptions of the pastoral Hebrew nomads into the settled tillage culture of Palestine,¹⁵ the descent of the Darians, bearers of the Danubian iron culture, into the highly developed Mycenaean culture areas of the Greek peninsula,¹⁶ the conquest of the Toltec culture area by the ruder Aztecs from the region of present-day Chihuahua and Sonora,¹⁷ the invasion of northern China by the Manchus, Tatars, Hiung-nu,¹⁸ etc., the invasions of Egypt by the Hyksos or Shepherd Kings,¹⁹ the gradual taking over of eastern Gaul and northern Italy by the Alemanni, Bavarians, Goths, Vandals, Franks, Langobardi and other peoples,²⁰ the incursions of the Saxons and their Scandinavian successors into Romanized Britain,²¹ the migration northward of American Negroes,²² the Kurdish forays of that "evil generation whose delight it is to murder merchants"²³ and the immigration of Sicilians, Poles, Jugo-Slavs, Macedonians, and other peoples from simpler culture areas into New York, Ohio, Illinois, Massachusetts,²⁴ etc.

Movement to a relatively simple culture

¹⁵ II Samuel, Kings, Judges and other books of the Old Testament.

¹⁶ Bryce, *op. cit.*, p. 580; H. E. Barnes, "History, Its Rise and Development," *Encyc. Americana*, 1st ed.

¹⁷ H. J. Spinden, *Ancient Civilization of Mexico and Central America* (New York, 1922) pp. 86-112.

¹⁸ A. Woeikof, *Le Turkestan russe* (Paris, 1914), pp. 106-125; E. H. Parker, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

¹⁹ A. E. J. Rawlinson, *History of Ancient Egypt*, II, 198.

²⁰ Lamprecht, *Deutsche Geschichte*, I, 160 ff.; B. Gebhart, *Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte*, (Leipzig, 1912) *passim*.

²¹ H. M. Chadwick, *The Origin of the English Nation* (Cambridge, 1907), chaps. ii-iv.

²² Charles S. Johnson, "The Changing Economic Status of the Negro," *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CXXX (Nov. 1918), 128-137.

²³ Marco Polo, quoted in Bowman, *op. cit.*, p. 446.

²⁴ Park and Miller, *Old World Traits Transplanted* (New York: Harper, 1921), *passim*.

⁶⁻⁹ Papers in symposium, *The City*; papers in symposium, *The Urban Community* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press); McKenzie, *The Neighborhood* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1924); also Louis Wirth, *The Ghetto* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1928).

¹⁰ H. W. Zorbaugh, *The Gold Coast and the Slum* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1929), esp. maps, pp. 50, 70, 83, 102, 129, 132, 157, 174, 176, 178, 184, 191, 219, 230, 244.

¹¹ Thrasher, *The Gang* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1927) esp. map, "Chicago's Gangland" in back of book.

¹² E. R. Mowrer, *Family Disorganization* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1927), esp. maps.

¹³ Ruth Shonle, *Suicide*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1927) esp. maps.

¹⁴ Anderson, *op. cit.*, esp. maps.

area is instanced by the administrative "occupation" of Fiji by the British,²⁵ by the early colonization of America, South Africa, South America, Australasia, and Siberia by various types of European groups,²⁶ by modern journeys of exploration, by the trading travels of the Greeks to the northern shores of the Black Sea and to points like Massalia in the Mediterranean,²⁷ by the similar journeys of the Phoenicians to the Tin Isles or Cassiterides, to the Gold Coast of Africa, and to other out-of-the-way regions where cheap raw materials might be secured,²⁸ by the Jesuit explorations in Canada and the Middle West and South of the present United States,²⁹ and by the occupation of Ulster by Englishmen and by Scottish Lowlanders.³⁰

The rubric of dissimilar culture area is included because it is frequently extremely difficult to decide which of two areas is more complex, but not at all hard to decide that they are different. When a Florentine journeys to Vienna, or a Berliner to Chicago, or a Parisian to New York, who is to decide whether the change has been to relatively complex or to relatively simple culture areas? Further, the fact of qualitative dissimilarity may well be more important than relative degrees of quantitative complexity: when a Parisian wood-carver went to Florence in the fifteenth century, when Goethe made his *italienische Reise*, when Albrecht Dürer visited Venice, when Van Dyck shifted to Stuart England and his "fourth manner," when David

Hume went to Anjou, when Voltaire hurried to Prussia and hurried away again, when Montesquieu "thought in England" for eighteen months, and when Wesley journeyed as a missionary to Savannah the dissimilarity in the culture areas concerned, rather than their relative complexity, seems to have been the important factor.

We must also include "relatively similar culture area" in our tenth rubric, because it is now quite possible to journey around the world without coming into effective contact with either more complex, simpler or markedly dissimilar culture areas. Many American tourists, for example, travel through Europe so well insulated by couriers and guides, so surrounded by bathtubs and ice-water, so sure that English is a universal language if shouted loudly enough, that they might just as well go to one of Burton Holmes' travelogues, so far as culture contact is concerned. Again, the hobo shifting from Bowery flop-houses to West Madison flop-houses doesn't get the proverbial polish of the rolling stone through the process—the areas are too similar. But after all, it may well be doubted whether such polish is desired by any high percentage of the world's population. Indeed, Wissler has said that "the migrations of man, even at the present moment, show the universal tendency to seek an environment in which he can feel at home culturally."³¹

XI

Heraclitus has told us that "conflict (*πολεμος*) is the father of all things;" since its enunciation the doctrine certainly has not lacked protagonists, least of all in modern times. Gumplovitz, Ratzenhofer, Ward, Bentley, Oppenheimer, Loria, Rigano, Unamuno, Scheler, Jahns, Bernhardi, Ferri, Marx, Engels, Lenin—and

²⁵ O. L. Triggs, "The Decay of Aboriginal Races," *The Open Court*, XXVI (1912), 584-603.

²⁶ P. LeRoy-Beaulieu, *De la Colonization chez les Peuples modernes*, (Paris: Guillamin, 1902) *passim*.

²⁷ George Grote, *History of Greece* (London: John Murray, 1850) III, 370-76.

²⁸ Frobenius, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-58.

²⁹ H. S. Spalding, "The Ethnologic Value of the Jesuit Relations," in *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIV (March 1929), No. 5, 882-889.

³⁰ M. J. Bonn, *loc. cit.*

³¹ Wissler, *op. cit.*, pp. 227-28.

how many more! Whether or not we subscribe to all the tenets of the faith, we must nevertheless admit that the rôle of conflict, and especially of armed, overt conflict, has been extremely important. So important has it been that Le Conte,³² for example, classifies all types of migration in two main categories, *Migrations avant la violence pour origine*, and *Migrations pacifiques*. We shall include as our eleventh rubric a somewhat similar dichotomy, but without elevating it to a rank of primary importance.

Under "Movements preceded or accompanied by overt conflict" might be placed the descent of the Vlachs of Transylvania into Wallachia in the thirteenth century or that of the Vlachs of Marmoureh into Moldavia in the fourteenth,³³ the advance of the American frontier, pushing before it a "thin red line" of dispossessed and struggling Amerinds, the military conquest (in the strict sense) of India, Siberia, and other army-bureaucratic dependencies,³⁴ the military colonization carried out by Caesar when he installed the Vangiones and the Nemetes in Alsace and the Boii in the Bourbonnais (at the juncture of the Loire and the Allier), dividing them into small groups scattered throughout the whole region,³⁵ the homologous system of "marches" used by Charlemagne to maintain a solid front along the Pyrenees, in eastern Brittany, and between the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian seas,³⁶ the essentially similar "military confines" created by Austria in Croatia and Slavonia in the sixteenth century,³⁷ the analogous *Sette Comuni* and *Tredici Comuni* of the Venetian

Republic in the fifteenth century,³⁸ the deportation of the Ten Tribes by Sargon II, in carrying out a policy much like Caesar's³⁹ the fleeing of hordes of refugees before an invading army, so often repeated as to need no examples, and finally, the traffic in slaves and in prisoners of war, two social practices which in both preliterate and historic times are frequently identical, and which certainly have been characterized by methods anything but peaceful.

The other half of our dichotomy will gain all possible inclusiveness if we simply make it negative: "Movements not primarily characterized by overt conflict." The type that first occurs to mind is the slow infiltration in search of land called *Nabewanderung* by some of the German sociologists, and which we have elsewhere translated as "proximmigration;" a people gradually overflows its territory as a result of population increase, and seeps little by little into the more sparsely settled or economically advantageous neighboring areas. This may occur without conflict on the lower stages of culture as well as on higher, for war (in the sense of organized overt conflict carried on in the name of the community as a whole) emerges relatively late in human history.⁴⁰ Only when the newcomers are too numerous to be readily assimilated are they likely to be the precursors of armed conquest. Another type of comparatively peaceful movement is maritime colonization such as the Greeks and Phoenicians practiced along the Mediterranean littoral. They settled first as merchants, and built *emporium* for the concentration of merchandise and slaves; little by little they became numerous enough to

³² Le Conte, *loc. cit.*

³³ Wace and Thompson, *op. cit.*

³⁴ Le Conte, *loc. cit.*

³⁵ Caesar, *op. cit.*, Bk. I, v, xiii, xxviii, xxix, li; Bk. VI, xxv; Bk. VII, ix, x, xvii (esp. important), lxxv.

³⁶ Le Conte, *loc. cit.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Cambridge Ancient History* (section by Sydney Smith) 1925, III, 43-49.

⁴⁰ Hobhouse, Wheeler and Ginsberg, *The Material Culture and Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples* (London, 1915), p. 228.

impose their political domination. In this way, for example, Syracuse and Carthage were born.⁴¹ In the Middle Ages, Venice and Genoa thus colonized parts of the Levant,⁴² and in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Dutch, English, French and Portuguese East India Companies at least *began* with protestations of peaceful intent.⁴³ Again, the great wave of migration issuing from Europe and flowing over North and South America, Australasia, and North and South Africa within the last two centuries has been in the main a peaceful movement, although the native peoples of these regions might express themselves differently. Further, the migratory laborer does not look for trouble, although he may fall foul of "harness bulls" and "hicks" on the way; and in addition, the incidental conflict which may occur is of a nature different from the type considered here. It may be overt, but it is not organized as we use that term in this context.

The warlike and pacific modes of movement may of course occur in simultaneous or successive combination. An example of the latter combination follows: the Ubii, a Germanic tribe, established themselves peaceably on the left bank of the Rhine near Cologne; Caesar also established several vanquished tribes in Alsace and the Palatinate with practically no overt conflict, scattering them throughout the whole area rather than settling them in one body; then the *foederati*, allied Frankish and Alemannic tribes, were placed on the left bank in the fourth and fifth centuries in order to defend the Rhine bridgeheads against invaders. Little by little these Germanic groups displaced the Gallo-Romans, and finally the Roman dominion was overthrown; the Ripuarian Franks held *Ger-*

mania inferior and the Alemanni took *Germany superior*. The peaceful familial and tribal infiltration had paved the way for warlike political expropriation.⁴⁴

XII

Closely related to the foregoing dichotomy, and yet not close enough to avoid a separate classificatory element, is the distinction between voluntary and involuntary movement. Questions of free-will and determinism or of ultimate causation need not be raised; looking at forms of movement with an eye only to proximate relationships, we can justifiably base our twelfth rubric on the fact that some types are relatively voluntary, some relatively involuntary. Examples of the former are the vacation journey, the picnic, the manifold varieties of the search for Eldorado, the pilgrimage (for merit, not penance), the journey for study abroad, and in fact, some forty, fifty or sixty percent of all sorts of movement thus far listed; of the latter, deportation, the Diaspora,⁴⁵ the Exile,⁴⁶ flight from the police, importation of slaves to America, etc., some types of mass movement in which the individual has no choice but to follow the crowd, other types in which whole groups are dragged along,⁴⁷ and so on.

XIII

Thirteenth, we must not lose sight of the fact that movement frequently comes full circle; men return to the point from whence they started. Tönnies thinks return to

⁴¹ Le Conte, *loc. cit.*

⁴²–⁴³ Kaplin-Kogan, *op. cit.*, chaps. i, ii.

⁴⁴ "Nie wird die Wanderung eines Volkes vor sich gehen, ohne Wanderungen anderer Völker hervorzurufen, oder von ihnen unbeeinflusst zu bleiben. Die Geschichte der Völkerwanderungen zeigt ein Mitgerissenwerden von Völkern, die nur halb freiwillig einem grossen Strom sich anschlossen." (Ratzel, *Politische Geographie*, p. 89).

⁴¹ Le Conte, *loc. cit.*

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Encyc. Brit.*, 14th. ed.; art., "India," pp. 191–93.

the primary culture area ("home") so important that his whole classification of voluntary movement is based upon the distinction between "migration" and "travel."⁴⁸ "The distinguishing characteristic of travelling is the real or at least ideal retention of the home dwelling-place [primary culture area]; hence movement to and fro has only a *temporary* character for the traveller; the line traced by the movement may be a 'double' straight line, a curve, or a line completely irregular, but it always ends where it began."⁴⁹ "The vagabond has no home, the migrant changes his home, the traveller retains his home."⁵⁰ He gives a great many examples of vagabondage, migration, and travel, but as the classifications cut across many of those we have already given, there is no need to duplicate examples. Hertz comments upon a similar classification (Duprat) as follows:

It goes without saying that we do not call every *movement* of human crowds or groups migration. Even when thousands of persons visit a summer resort, an open-air concert, or a university, or when they participate in a military expedition, we do not usually speak of "migration." Professor Duprat of Geneva has rightly stressed the point that mere change of location or travel does not constitute migration in the sociological sense. There must be a certain separation or detachment from the home and the intention to enter into a new social connection. This idea seems to me to be very penetrating, yet in my opinion a mere transitory connection, such as that found among hobos and other migratory workers, may suffice.⁵¹

Tönnies, however, fails to point out one important aspect of return to the primary culture area; such return need not be planned or foreseen at all to have great importance. The human being or beings in question may be migrants subjectively, inasmuch as return to the primary culture

area is not intended, but travellers objectively, inasmuch as return does eventually take place. Return may thus be planned or unplanned (relatively speaking); further, it may or may not take place when planned. Most Americans have known immigrants who were forever planning to go back to the most distressful country or to the Fatherland and who died before the longed-for consummation; and many Europeans could tell of surprise visits from relatives who had left home for America with no intention of ever returning. And who does not know (if only through the Alger books) of the return of the home-town boy who has made good in the big city? Again, the return of colonists to the mother country, even though they are but the fourth-generation descendants of the original contingent, has far-reaching consequences both for the colony and the home land. We think at once of Ionia and Attica, Iceland and Norway, Great Britain and the United States, East Prussia and the Rhineland. Many more such cases might be cited, but the case for the possible significance of return and non-return seems established as well as is necessary here.

This paper has covered a great deal of ground so far; it is about time to look around and see where our exploratory method has led us. An outline of the various rubrics may help:

ANALYTICAL SCHEMA

(*Not intended to be exhaustive*)

The various types of population movement found in the literature cited may be:

- I. Carried on by
 - A. Monads (single human beings: von Wiese)
 - B. Sexual-relation groups
 - C. Interest groups
 1. Homogeneous
 2. Heterogeneous
 - D. Total groups

⁴⁸ Tönnies, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Hertz, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

- II. Carried on by plurality patterns composed of relatively high proportions of
 - A. Children
 - B. Adolescents
 - C. Adults
 - D. Groups combining various age levels
- III. Carried on by plurality patterns having relative proportions of the sexes as follows:
 - A. Predominantly male
 - B. Predominantly female
 - C. Approximately equal distribution
- IV. Relatively
 - A. Slow
 - B. Insignificant in rate of speed
 - C. Rapid
- V. Followed by
 - A. No settlement
 - B. Temporary settlement
 - C. Seasonal settlement
 - D. "Exhaustion of resources" settlement
 - E. "Permanent" settlement
- VI. Classed, in politico-geographic terms, as
 - A. Internal
 - 1. Local (i.e., within a culture area coinciding with politico-geographic boundaries)
 - 2. Tribal or national
 - B. External
 - 1. Continental
 - 2. Tranthalassic
 - 3. Transmaritime
 - 4. Tribal or national
- VII. From one type of geographical area to another: e.g., from
 - A. Tundra zone
 - B. Mesa zone
 - C. Jungle zone
 - to
 - D. Tundra zone
 - E. Mesa zone
 - F. Jungle zone
- VIII. To areas relatively
 - A. Accessible
 - 1. Geographically
 - 2. Vicinally
 - B. Isolated
 - 1. Geographically
 - 2. Vicinally
- IX. To areas relatively
 - A. Densely settled
 - B. Sparsely settled
- X. Classed in cultural terms as transference
 - A. Within primary culture area
 - B. To relatively complex secondary culture area
- C. To relatively simple secondary culture area
- D. To relatively dissimilar secondary culture area
- E. To relatively similar secondary culture area

XI. Preceded, accompanied, or followed by

- A. Overt, organized conflict
- B. No overt, organized conflict

XII. Relatively

- A. Voluntary
- B. Involuntary

XIII. Followed by

- A. Return to primary culture area, which return may be
 - 1. Planned
 - 2. Unplanned
- B. No return to primary culture area which non-return may be
 - 1. Planned
 - 2. Unplanned

et cetera, et cetera!

The above skeleton of the course of the present discussion makes several points fairly clear:

First, the method used has been reasonably well adapted to the announced purpose of observing "a wide range of population movements and their attendant phenomena." It would be presumptuous to say that every possible variety of movement has been passed under review; observation means selection, and selection means inclusion and *exclusion* on the basis of *possible* significance for the problem in hand. Nevertheless, even the most determined advocate of Pure Induction would probably be willing to admit that the writer has stretched the barriers of "possible significance" a very long way indeed. The cases the writer finally chooses for intensive study will have been chosen only after observing movement in as many forms, and with as many important conditioning factors, as a very wide interpretation of significance will allow—if the reader will pardon our saying so, these "prolegomena" have not been wholly in vain. In other words, this study has laid the indispensable foundation of preliminary observation; it

has not yet contributed appreciably to the direct solution of the problem of the relation of population movement to mental mobility, to be sure, but even though a rolling stone gathers no moss, it may get rough corners knocked off in its travels, and may even acquire a polish.

Second, the attempt to select characteristics that might be predicated of any movement has been measurably successful. Every example given in this article finds a place in every one of the rubrics, in spite of the fact that in culling the examples from the literature the only objective was exemplification of the widest possible variety of population movements. The several categories in which the numerous cases have been placed form a pattern generally applicable to any single instance; in other words, an analytical schema has been constructed that greatly aids in dissecting any given example. Questions are asked that otherwise might never be raised; elements found significant in other cases may be eventually found to be significant in the one being classified. This of course does not mean that when an example has been set in its proper place in all of the rubrics that every important characteristic of that case has been noted, or that it has been explained—not at all! It has merely been explored—but after all exploration is a necessary first step; we cannot detect regularity in the recurrence of phenomena until we have something of which to predicate regularity. "This method of observation or preliminary analysis artificially isolates factors and separates them from the total grouping or configuration in which they have full significance but the method seems desirable for that very reason, inasmuch as the resulting juxtaposition of widely differing forms of movement helps us to see the possible significance of certain types." The study, then, has resulted in the working

out of an analytical schema that aids in the dissection of cases and the isolation of factors.

Third, an important although not obvious gain has been registered in the foregoing pages because they implicitly demonstrate that the significance of each separate rubric, taken in isolation, is practically nil so far as *explanation* is concerned. The artificial abstraction that has been practised by tearing cases of movement apart, so to speak, in order to get at simple numerical, temporal, and spatial factors is extremely valuable for purposes of *exploration*, for making the focus of observation as wide as possible, for building a schema within which every possible variety of movement can be included in part at least; but it does not tell us anything about the sociological significance of these isolated factors.

Fourth, a still more important gain has resulted from the implicit demonstration that the whole collection of rubrics has little or no significance if it is used to atomize configurations that should be dealt with only as configurations. What, for example, will the following (or similar) procedure tell us that is sociologically worth knowing *in and of itself*? Nothing!

The movements of certain Gypsy groups fall in the following divisions and subdivisions of our schema:

I.D; II.D; III.C; IV.C; V.B and C; VI.A. 1, 2 and B. 1, 2, 3, 4; VII.A and B to D and E; VIII.A. 1, 2 and B. 1, 2; IX.A; X.B; XI.B; XII.B; XIII.B. 2.

The hobo, who "works and wanders," may thus be classified:

I.A and B; II.B, C and D; III.A; IV.C; V.A, B and C; VI.A. 2 and B. 1, 2, 3, 4; VII.A and B to D and E; VIII.A. 1, 2; IX.A, B; X.D; XI.B; XII.B; XIII.B. 2.

The Mongol invasion of Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries fits into these categories:

I.C. 1; II.C; III.A; IV.C; B.V; VI.B. 1, 4; VII.A and B to D and E; VIII.A. 1 and B. 2; IX.A; X.B; XI.A; XII.A; XIII.A. 2.

This is all very well as exploration, as a preliminary step, but it surely contributes little to explanation. In order for any separate characteristics of population movement to have meaning, they must be considered with reference to the whole problem and to each other—they must be considered as a configuration united by the logic of internal relationships. Such a configuration does not follow the pattern $A+B+C$, nor $A\times B\times C$, nor any other grouping united by merely external relationships. On the contrary, although A is connected with B and C , it is by reason of that connection a *different A* than it would be in isolation, just as B and C are different. Destroy, alter or remove A , and B and C are fundamentally changed. The configuration constitutes the parts just as the parts constitute the configuration; neither can be considered in isolation. Consequently, the sets of classifications given above must not be regarded as anything more than convenient tools for dissecting purposes; for this purpose they are well adapted, but if we use them so unskillfully that the configuration is destroyed, we shall have nothing left but a scattered collection of *disjecta membra* that helps us to explain nothing.

All the King's horses and all the King's men
Couldn't put Humpty Dumpty together
again.

Fifth, the relation of the population-movement configuration to larger configurations should never be neglected. To borrow a *Gestalt* analogy, the figure-ground relationship must be taken into account. This is well illustrated by a recent study of divorce in Japan,⁵² in which the statement is made that "the divorce rate is declining in Japan under the very condi-

tions of modern life in which it is rising in other countries, particularly America."⁵³ The reason for this seeming paradox lies in the relation of the "divorce configuration" to the larger configuration of Japanese culture. The factors listed are verbally the same, but the "figure" they constitute changes as the "ground" changes i.e., as they form part of the American cultural configuration on the one hand, or the Japanese on the other. This is admitted in the article mentioned: "the causes for either increase or decrease in the divorce rate are multiple and interwoven, and the whole social situation should be taken into consideration before making any absolute conclusion. . . . these same factors may become an influence to bring about the upward divorce movement in the future."⁵⁴ That is, when the "ground" changes the "figure" will change. As was said above, "Destroy, alter or remove A , and B and C are fundamentally changed."

Inasmuch as a great many factors other than those which may be considered strictly ecological or demographic have been included, the above considerations also constitute a drastic criticism of studies which attempt to make sociological generalizations upon ecological or demographic bases alone. "Territorial mobility," "horizontal mobility," and similar concepts afford a splendid opportunity for the display of dialectic dexterity, and when the stage properties in the way of numerical and literary illustrations are well managed, the resulting demonstration has all the plausibility of a good spiritualistic seance, but who takes seances seriously?

Taking all these points into account, the writer believes that his decision to use the culture case study method in further investigation is amply justified; the only

⁵² Yasu Iwasaki, "Why the Divorce Rate Has Declined in Japan," *Am. J. of Sociology*, XXXVI (4) January 1931, pp. 568-583.

⁵³ *Op. cit.*, p. 568.

⁵⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 583.

danger seems to be that academic signposts warning the uninitiated off the sacred ground of history on the one hand and sociology on the other may be disobeyed, but such signposts are rapidly losing their former awesomeness. Population movements should be studied in concrete fulness of historical detail—culture history, to be sure, but history none the less—before any attempts to abstract universally valid formulae are made.⁵⁵ Such formulae are by no means impossible of attainment, but it remains to be seen whether the present generation of sociologists will attain them. This much, at any rate, seems evident: the way to valid abstract conclusions does not lie through the phantom valley of abstractions; we must walk with our feet on real ground among real people.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ "To ingenious attempts at explaining by the light of reason things that want the light of history to show their meaning, much of the learned nonsense of the world has indeed been due" (E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 1871, p. 17).

⁵⁶ "So wichtige Werkzeuge Methodik und Klassifikation auch bieten mögen, man wird sich immer ins Dilettantische verlieren, wenn man sie allein, ohne

In summary, the following can be said of the results reached in this study, as the writer sees them: (1) a wide variety of population movements has been passed in review—observation has been fairly thorough; (2) an exploratory technique has been worked out which, while not explanatory in nature, nevertheless aids in getting at significant factors in population movement; (3) the method of analysis used has to some extent demonstrated the necessity for culture case study in further investigation. It is high time that the facts be taken in their total setting; when we do, we may learn something about the sociological aspects of population movement that is not merely the expression of *a priori* opinion.

die prüfende Kraft der Einzelarbeit, zum Gegenstand wissenschaftlichen Denkens macht. Es kommt dabei auf ein Operieren mit Begriffen heraus, deren wahren Wert doch immer nur die forschende Erfahrung prüfen kann. Das Dilettantische liegt ja überhaupt mehr in der Täuschung über die Tiefe der Probleme als in der Unkenntnis der Methoden, und ein naiver Optimismus in Bezug auf dieser Tiefe ist daher am bezeichnendsten für den Dilertanismus" (Ratzel, *Antropogeographie*, Part II, p. xi., italics ours).

A NEW DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

From *Harvard University* comes the announcement of a new department of sociology which will begin to function during the coming academic year as a separate division with Pitirim A. Sorokin as chairman. No elementary introductory course in sociology is offered. Freshmen are not admitted to any course in sociology and most of the courses are open only to juniors, seniors, and graduate students. Only honor students are permitted to major in sociology. Graduate students are not required to take lecture courses, particular emphasis being laid on their own study and creative research under the guidance of professors of the Department and the University. Accordingly, their study and research will be carried on largely through special seminars and informal meetings with their advisors. In harmony with this plan, twenty special fields of sociological research have been mapped out, in charge of specialists on the Harvard faculty. Most of the sociology courses offered in the Department of Sociology of Harvard will also be given at Radcliffe College.

Among those associated with Professor Sorokin in the teaching and research in this department are G. W. Allport, John D. Black, T. N. Carver, R. C. Cabot, James Ford, Edwin F. Gay, S. S. Glueck, R. B. Perry, A. M. Schlesinger, A. M. Tozzer, William Morton Wheeler, E. B. Wilson, and others.

TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

RESEARCH BY SOUTHERN SOCIAL SCIENCE TEACHERS

BENJAMIN B. KENDRICK

North Carolina College for Women

IN 1929, the Social Science Research Council, seeking further ways and means of promoting its objectives, authorized the appointment of two regional committees, one for the West and one for the South. These committees, appointed for one year, were renewed for 1930-31. The personnel for the first southern committee consisted of Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina, Chairman; Wilson Gee, University of Virginia; Max Handman, University of Texas; Jesse F. Steiner, Tulane University; Joseph Peterson, George Peabody College; Ellis M. Coulter, University of Georgia; Benjamin B. Kendrick, North Carolina College for Women.

This committee for 1930-1931 consists of Benjamin B. Kendrick, North Carolina College for Women, Chairman; Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina; Wilson Gee, University of Virginia; Joseph Peterson, George Peabody College; George W. Stocking, University of Texas; Walter J. Matherly, University of Florida; N. B. Bond, University of Mississippi.

The council suggested a seven-fold objective for its activities, namely; (1) Improvement of research organization; (2) Development of personnel; (3) Enlargement, improvement, and preservation of materials; (4) Improvement of research

methods; (5) Facilitation of the dissemination of materials, methods, and results of investigations; (6) Facilitation of research projects; (7) Enhancement of the public appreciation of the significance of the social sciences.

One of the early tasks undertaken by the first committee was an inquiry to ascertain something of the nature, range, and personnel of social research in southern institutions. To this end, Dr. Odum, about the first of March, 1930, mailed postal reply cards to 1,058 teachers of the social sciences in the eleven states of the late Confederacy together with Kentucky and Oklahoma. This number represents very nearly the total of teachers of history, sociology, economics, political science, statistics, and anthropology in white and Negro institutions above the grade of high school. Generally speaking, the psychologists were not included. Replies were received from 553, or 53.2 per cent. Of those replying 41.6 per cent were historians and political scientists, 26.2 per cent economists, 16.4 per cent sociologists, while 15.8 per cent were unclassified. Information was requested concerning the institution, academic rank, degrees held and where received, courses taught, research under way, research in which interested but not under way.

The following is a summary of the information obtained:

Number of teachers to whom questionnaire was sent.....	1,058*
Number replying.....	553
Degrees held by those replying:	
A.B. or the equivalent.....	50
M.A. or the equivalent.....	260
Ph.D. or the equivalent.....	243
Academic rank of those replying:	
Professor or the equivalent.....	311
Associate professor or the equivalent.....	104
Assistant professor or the equivalent.....	87
Instructor or the equivalent.....	51
Number having research under way.....	386
Number desirous of doing research but having none under way.....	124
Number not interested in research.....	43
Total number of members of four learned societies.....	1,085†
Number of institutions represented by those replying.....	180

* This is not a complete list of Social Science teachers in institutions of higher learning but includes most history, economics, political science, and sociology teachers. There are not in the South many persons giving their entire time to statistics or anthropology. Generally speaking, the psychologists were not included.

† Includes only members of the American Historical Association, the American Political Science Association, the American Sociological Society, and the American Economics Association. Figures obtained from the secretaries of the societies.

It is probably fair to assume that the great majority of the 46.8 per cent who did not reply not only did not have any research under way but were not much interested in research, although I know personally of some cases in which this assumption is unwarranted.

These figures are not complete, but in their incomplete form I think they are impressive. Most of the subjects in which these men and women express themselves as interested are southern subjects and in nearly every case additional light should be thrown upon them if we

are to proceed in an orderly and intelligent manner to the solution of our manifold problems. What do these people need in order that they may go forward with the particular research problem in which they are interested? Well, a number of things. First of all, of course, is brains. No further comment on this point is necessary as no human agency can supply this deficiency. In the second place, every person intending to do research work should have the technique necessary for the job. The returns seem to indicate that there are a good many who have not had adequate training in this respect. Those who are young enough to profit by the experience should be given a leave of absence with part pay, if possible, so that they may have an opportunity to train themselves in the technique of research in the particular discipline they are teaching. I know how hard-pressed financially every southern college administrator is at the present time and how deaf he is inclined to be towards any suggestion that will tend to increase expenses, but I give it as my reasoned opinion that one of the best ways to spend a few thousand dollars each year is to give leave of absence to two or three young, ambitious, and intelligent instructors who desire to do further graduate work. As a member of the Southern Fellowship Committee, I may say that is just the sort of young man or woman whom we are desirous of helping with fellowships so far as our funds will permit. I am sure that is true of various other fellowship committees throughout the country. And where no outside aid is available the young instructor should be encouraged to go ahead at the partial expense of his college, even if it is necessary for other teachers to carry temporarily a somewhat heavier teaching load to make this possible. So you can see that one of the prime

purposes of the Southern Regional Committee is to improve the personnel of the teaching force in the social sciences in our institutions of higher learning. To that end we ask earnestly for the coöperation of those holding administrative positions in such institutions.

In the third place, an instructor or professor who is mentally capable of doing research work and has been trained adequately for it also requires a workshop and a laboratory. That is to say, as an irreducible minimum, he needs a library equipped with the standard works of reference and the better secondary books dealing with his general field of interest. Moreover, he must have some source materials on the particular project he has in hand. The nature of such materials will vary according to the discipline or the particular phase of the discipline in which he proposes to do research work. Obviously, it is quite impossible for every small college or normal school to contain a great deal of source material, but, if an instructor is an historian, for instance, he can frequently find enough material among the files of local newspapers, court house records, private letters, diaries, account books and the like to patch together a pretty good history of the town, city, or county in which his college is located. If he is alert he will make every effort he can to collect, and, in coöperation with his institution or other agencies, preserve the materials he finds for some later persons who may wish to make a different use of them.

To promote the collection and preservation of materials and better equipment of our libraries is another important object of our Committee. If our instructor is an economist or sociologist he should be able to find in the economic and social institutions and conditions of his locality ample materials for a valuable contribution to

human knowledge. I think most of you will agree that one of the most significant books to be published in recent years is *Middletown* by Mr. and Mrs. Robert S. Lynd. I understand that there is a teacher training school in Middletown where economics, sociology, and psychology are taught. The materials were there all along. Why did not some teacher in this institution write such a book? Well, you say, he or she did not possess the genius of the Lynds. But *Middletown* is not primarily a work of genius, but rather of industry and insight. And leisure too, no doubt, which brings me to my fourth point.

The research worker must have some leisure. He may have brains, technique, library facilities, and an abundance of raw materials of research and still not produce anything simply because he is so burdened with the task of teaching that he has no time or energy left. I know there are a few rare spirits who so love research that, after they have done twelve to twenty hours of class room teaching and their pro rata share of routine committee work, they still find time to carry on research; but where there are such men and women, is it fair to the community to allow them to wear themselves out in such manner? Now I know there are a great many college administrators who will reply that they do not require their teachers to do research work and feel that while research is all well enough and ought to be done, the large universities and endowed research institutes are the places for it. The job of the college and normal school teacher is to teach. Very well, let us grant that that is their task. I tell you from personal experience and observation that has extended over twenty-one years, that the best teacher, if other things are at all equal, is that one who also does some research. Whatever

justification there is for my own presence on a faculty is the work I have done as a teacher, and in all honesty that is little enough. Since I finished my doctoral thesis some fifteen years ago I have done very little real research. That during that time I have done a good deal of varied reading both within and without my particular discipline, that I have mixed quite a lot with all sorts of people and talked with some intelligent ones, has been a sort of substitute, but I confess to you that I would be a great deal better teacher than I now am had I continued to do some research work.

But let us allow this argument to pass as being *ex parte* or *ad hominem* or some other more appropriate Latin phrase, and look at the situation in the South as we find it today. There are not more than a dozen universities in the South that are doing any respectable quantity or quality of research, and in no single one of them is it adequately supported. The breach must be filled by men and women from the ranks of the colleges if we are not to fall still further behind in this phase of scholastic endeavor. I venture to assert that there are more good intentions per capita or even per square mile in the South than in any other area on earth. For one thing, it is the churchiest place this side of heaven, and the churches are nothing if not good-intentioned. Perhaps Spain of three centuries ago was equally churchy. I was about to say priest-ridden, but, lest someone mistake me for an evolutionist or atheist, I will forbear. And whom does the Spain of the late 16th century call to our minds but that benevolent if somewhat caricatured knight of the immortal Cervantes, Don Quixote? The good Don attacked the wind-mills because he thought them vicious giants, he pledged his honor as a gentleman and a

knight to a country wench because he thought her the fairest Dulcinea in all Spain, and he attacked the guards of some desperate criminals and set the criminals free to prey upon a defenseless countryside because he believed the guards were heartless oppressors. But he was always good-intentioned, and, despite his useless, foolish, and positively dangerous mistakes, we rather like the poor devil.

And so it is with our own unenlightened and quixotic uplifters. I conceive it to be the task of the scholar in the social sciences to point out that wind-mills are wind-mills, that criminals are criminals, and that country wenches are only country wenches in the hope that our own Quixotes will be saved from the errors of the foolhardy Spanish don. But it is only a hope, for, while the social scientist is at his project, he should approach it in some such way as the biologist approaches a new-fangled crab. The biologist is neither for the crab nor against the crab, nor is he interested in making out of him an edible crab, nor of teaching him tricks, nor of uplifting him in any way. He examines him impartially and in a detached manner and consigns him to his proper place in the Crustacea family, leaving his training or transformation to some zoölogical Burbank. Or in another mood it is perfectly legitimate for him to become an uplifter of crabs himself. And so it should be with the social scientist. While he is on his research job he should not be expected to say, Boy Scout fashion, to himself every morning, "Now for one good deed today," but rather, if he is so tempted, let him fortify his detachment by saying, "I'll be damned if I do good to anybody today." When he has finished his research and has arrived at what he conceives to be the truth, he may do all the good he can or allow someone else to

take his findings as a point of departure and reform and uplift until he is blue in the face.

But perhaps it appears to you a far cry from crabs and biologists and Boy Scouts and Sunny Spain of the 16th Century to the Sunny South of the twentieth century. So back to our knitting we go. And let us make a conclusion of the whole matter. The southern Regional committee wants the administrators of all southern institutions to coöperate with it or them or us, whichever you will, in giving a little leisure to such men and women as are teaching the social sciences in their institutions, who are able and anxious to do some research. Tell us about such persons and we will try to help you and them in as substantial a way as our limited funds will permit; and in the meanwhile we are going to try to increase those funds if the whole capitalistic system does not come tumbling down on our heads before we get fairly started. And please in this matter do not expect any glory for your particular school. And do not anticipate that any piece of work that one of your staff does accomplish will lead to any great immediate reform. I admit that a

lot of so-called research is the bunk, as the great Henry Ford once remarked about my particular discipline. I seem to recall that some statistical hound once told me that for every ten thousand eggs a roe shad lays only one ever turns out to be a full-sized fish. It may have been a million eggs or perhaps it was only a thousand, but in any case I trust you will see the point. Give the poor fish a chance to lay her eggs, if for no other reason than the just pride we take in our excellent southern shad.

When our Committee has made a fair beginning in the manual of arms of research, we hope to be able to stimulate the formulation of some large coöperative projects for presentation to the Social Science Research Council in harmony with its new strategy. But that will probably be the work of a real strategist. For the present, we propose to confine ourselves to promoting a knowledge of the manual of arms.

The tables give a detailed statistical analysis of the data summarized in this paper, presenting the various classifications for the states individually as well as for the region.

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STATUS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH IN THE SOUTH

TABLE SHOWING NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES OF PERSONS HAVING RESEARCH UNDER WAY, INTERESTED IN DOING RESEARCH, BUT HAVING NONE UNDER WAY, AND OF THOSE NOT INTERESTED IN RESEARCH, BY ACADEMIC RANK AND DEGREES HELD

	PROFES- SOR	ASSOC- IATE PROFES- SOR	ASSIST- ANT PROFES- SOR	INSTRU- CTOR	SUM- MARY	RE- SEARCH UNDER WAY	INTER- ESTED IN RE- SEARCH	NOT INTER- ESTED
Ph.D*	170	44	26	3	243	195	37	11
M.A., M.S.	125	49	55	31	260	162	73	25
A.B., B.S.	16	11	6	17	50	29	14	7
Summary	311	104	87	51	553			
Research under way	70.10% 218	82.69% 86	63.22% 55	52.94% 27		69.80% 386		
Interested in research	23.15% 72	13.46% 14	22.99% 20	35.29% 18			22.42% 124	
Not interested	6.75% 21	3.85% 4	13.79% 12	11.77% 6				7.78% 43

Alabama rank

Ph.D.	5	1	1	0	7	5	2	0
M.A., M.S.	4	5	2	3	14	9	4	1
A.B., B.S.	2	0	2	2	6	4	1	1
Summary	11	6	5	5	27			
Research under way	9	5	1	3		18		
Interested in research	2	0	3	2			7	
Not interested	0	1	1	0				2

Arkansas rank

Ph.D.	6	2	1	1	10	8	2	0
M.A., M.S.	2	0	1	2	5	1	4	0
A.B., B.S.	1	0	0	1	2	0	1	1
Summary	9	2	2	4	17			
Research under way	6	2	1	0		9		
Interested in research	3	0	1	3			7	
Not interested	0	0	0	1				1

Florida rank

Ph.D.	11	1	2	0	14	7	5	2
M.A., M.S.	0	1	1	1	3	3	0	0
A.B., B.S.	0	3	0	1	4	3	1	0
Summary	11	5	3	2	21			
Research under way	6	4	2	1		13		
Interested in research	3	1	1	1			6	
Not interested	2	0	0	0				2

* In classifying both as to rank and degree, unlisted titles at their equivalent value have been counted.

STATUS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH IN THE SOUTH—*Continued*

	PROFES- SOR	ASSOCI- ATE PROFES- SOR	ASSIST- ANT PROFES- SOR	INSTRU- CTOR	SUM- MARY	RE- SEARCH UNDER W.	TER- ED IN RE- ARCH	NOT INTER- ESTED
Georgia rank								
Ph.D.	9	1	2	0	12	9	2	1
M.A., M.S.	9	4	2	0	15	8	6	1
A.B., B.S.	4	2	1	1	8	3	3	2
Summary	22	7	5	1	35			
Research under way	12	5	2	1		20		
Interested in research	7	2	2	0			11	
Not interested	3	0	1	0				4
Kentucky rank								
Ph.D.	10	1	0	0	11	8	3	0
M.A., M.S.	8	1	1	6	16	9	6	1
A.B., B.S.	1	1	0	1	3	2	1	0
Summary	19	3	1	7	30			
Research under way	11	2	1	5		19		
Interested in research	7	1	0	2			10	
Not interested	1	0	0	0				1
Louisiana rank								
Ph.D.	11	4	3	1	19	16	3	0
M.A., M.S.	7	3	6	1	17	10	6	1
A.B., B.S.	0	0	2	0	2	1	0	1
Summary	18	7	11	2	38			
Research under way	14	4	7	2		27		
Interested in research	4	3	2	0			9	
Not interested	0	0	2	0				2
Mississippi rank								
Ph.D.	4	1	0	0	5	4	1	0
M.A., M.S.	6	1	3	0	10	5	4	1
A.B., B.S.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Summary	10	2	3	0	15			
Research under way	6	2	1	0		9		
Interested in research	4	0	1	0			5	
Not interested	0	0	1	0				1
North Carolina rank								
Ph.D.	25	12	7	1	45	38	5	2
M.A., M.S.	15	9	9	5	38	20	10	8
A.B., B.S.	4	0	0	4	8	4	4	0
Summary	44	21	16	10	91			
Research under way	32	16	10	4		62		
Interested in research	6	4	4	5			19	
Not interested	6	1	2	1				10

Ph.D.
A.M.
A.B.,
Summa
Researc
Interes
Not in

Ph.D.
M.A.,
A.B.,
Summa
Researc
Interes
Not in

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STATUS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH IN THE SOUTH—*Concluded*

NOT INTER- ESTED	ME AN S OR YA	PROFES- SOR	ASSOCIA- TE PROFES- SOR	ASSIST- ANT PROFES- SOR	INSTRU- CTOR	SUM- MARY	RE- SEARCH UNDER WAY	INTER- ESTED IN RE- SEARCH	NOT INTER- ESTED
Oklahoma rank									
1	Ph.D.....	9	3	3	0	15	12	3	0
2	A.M., M.S.....	13	6	6	2	27	19	6	2
3	A.B., B.S.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	Summary.....	22	9	9	2	42			
5	Research under way.....	13	9	8	1		31		
6	Interested in research.....	8	0	1	0			9	
7	Not interested.....	1	0	0	1				2
South Carolina rank									
8	Ph.D.....	8	2	0	0	10	9	0	1
9	M.A., M.S.....	8	4	1	1	14	8	4	1
10	A.B., B.S.....	2	0	0	2	4	2	1	1
11	Summary.....	18	6	1	3	28			
12	Research under way.....	12	6	0	1		19		
13	Interested in research.....	4	0	0	1			5	
14	Not interested.....	2	0	1	1				4
Tennessee rank									
15	Ph.D.....	13	4	4	0	21	19	2	0
16	M.A., M.S.....	15	2	3	3	23	16	5	2
17	A.B., B.S.....	2	1	0	4	7	6	1	0
18	Summary.....	30	7	7	7	51			
19	Research under way.....	24	7	6	4		41		
20	Interested in research.....	5	0	1	2			8	
21	Not interested.....	1	0	0	1				2
Texas rank									
22	Ph.D.....	29	4	2	0	35	29	5	1
23	M.A., M.S.....	27	8	11	5	51	34	14	3
24	A.B., B.S.....	0	3	0	1	4	3	1	0
25	Summary.....	56	15	13	6	90			
26	Research under way.....	40	13	9	4		66		
27	Interested in research.....	15	2	2	1			20	
28	Not interested.....	1	0	2	1				4
Virginia rank									
29	Ph.D.....	30	8	1	0	39	31	4	4
30	M.A., M.S.....	11	5	9	2	27	20	4	3
31	B.A., B.S.....	0	1	1	0	2	1	0	1
32	Summary.....	41	14	11	2	68			
33	Research under way.....	33	11	7	1		52		
34	Interested in research.....	4	1	2	1			8	
35	Not interested.....	4	2	2	0				8

JOURNALISM AS SOCIAL SCIENCE

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EFFORTS to achieve durable social consequences through the teaching of journalism are in process at a number of American universities.¹ Present aims go beyond what has been attempted in the past.² While the usefulness of training newspaper reporters is not to be discounted, it remains true that such work is only one of several functions which press upon the teacher of journalism. Yet, journalism departments in most of the universities heretofore have been so intent upon administering the small technical detail of the news room that the really significant scholarship in journalism has been left to the historians, the psychologists, and the sociologists.³ The definition of journalism in the colleges has implied a routine technique, and but little more.

College instruction in journalism is about twenty-five years old in the United States.⁴ In France, England, and Germany, its development has covered about

¹ For the nucleus of several ideas in this paper, indebtedness is thankfully expressed to Prof. Willard G. Bleyer of the University of Wisconsin, Dean Eric W. Allen of the University of Oregon, and Prof. E. Marion Johnson, formerly of the University of Minnesota.

² Scholarly impetus in journalism is ably represented by *The Journalism Quarterly*, which has recently been transformed under the editorship of Prof. Frank Luther Mott of the University of Iowa.

³ Perhaps most authoritative and stimulating among American studies in journalism are the companion volumes entitled *The Newspaper as Authority* and *The Newspaper and the Historian*; New York; 1923; by Lucy Maynard Salmon, professor of history at Vassar.

⁴ General Robert E. Lee, as president of Washington University (now Washington and Lee), is credited with establishing the first courses in journalism in 1869, but the movement was not systematically developed until many years afterward.

the same period. The French and English, while mainly concerned with the training of newspaper workers, have concentrated upon background in the social sciences, rather than upon elementary technical processes. The Germans, characteristically, have shown the way in evolving a scientific approach to journalism in the universities. *Zeitungswissenschaft* has no direct connection with teaching boys and girls to be reporters or press agents. It is newspaper science.⁵ The curricula of the German departments of journalism, of which there are twelve in the higher institutions, deal profoundly with the periodical as a social force. At the University of London the student of journalism becomes seeped in the detail and traditions of the English press, and his professional training consists largely of such studies in the social sciences as will fit him to grapple intelligently with the movements and conditions of his day. Because of the peculiarly partisan character of the French newspapers, especially those of Paris, the study of journalism in France involves an even more intricate analysis of political backgrounds and social theory.⁶

In startling contrast to the view which sees journalism as a ramified phenomenon demanding assiduous scholarship is the attitude which posits the study of journalism as a shallow training for mechanical news-gathering and headline-writing. This

⁵ The German point of view is admirably portrayed in Karl Bömer's *Bibliographische Handbuch der Zeitungswissenschaft. Kritische und Systematische Einführung in den Stand der Deutschen Zeitungsforschung*; Leipzig, 1929.

⁶ Distinctive aspects of the French newspapers are briefly set forth in an article called *The Daily Press in France* by Raphael Levy in *The Modern Language Journal*, XIII, no. 4.

attitude, however, has been maintained at schools of newspaper work situated at some of the most reputable universities in the United States. It is no wonder, as a consequence, that the teaching of journalism has been slow in building academic prestige.⁷

The following excerpt from a letter written to me by an eminent political scientist will supply a pointed illustration of the reputation of the courses in journalism: "I am often irritated by the way in which raw and immature freshman or sophomore journalism students come to interview me for their assignments without having taken the slightest trouble to read even a superficial account of the topic which they wish me to discuss. One such student came to me this year to get my views on the subject of disarmament, and when I told him that we could have good talk about it after he had read the book on that subject by Madariaga, since that would give us a common vocabulary and alphabet, he was quite wrathy, and put me down as a total academic loss."

Nor have the schools of newspaper training won the complete faith of the editors and publishers. The most recent report of the committee on schools of journalism of the American Society of Newspaper Editors questioned with serious doubt the adequacy—and, in fact, the basic need—of the methods frequently pursued by many of the schools of newspaper work.⁸ Typical of the point of view of the informed editor is the following expression addressed to me by a leading American journalist:

⁷ Two former professors of journalism, nevertheless, have become university presidents: Walter Williams of Missouri and M. Lyle Spencer of Washington.

⁸ See report of George B. Armstead, editor of the *Hartford Courant*, to the A.S.N.E.; reprinted in *The Journalism Quarterly*, VII, no. 2.

A man's time in college is too valuable to be wasted in learning technique. I will engage to take any intelligent college graduate and in two weeks teach him all the journalistic technique there is. In fact, some of the greatest journalists never learned the technique—Watterson, Greeley and Dana, for conspicuous examples. The great journalist is not a technician; he is a personality.

To be sure, he has to have enormous equipment, but it is not technical equipment. My own feeling is that such of his equipment as he obtains through formal schooling should be mainly that of the economist. I am more and more certain that the prevailing practice of listing Journalism under the subjects taught in the Department of English is wholly illogical. You might as well put it in the Department of Mechanical Engineering, or the Department of Chemistry. The job of the journalist is to chronicle the way the world is run. That is to say, he is to be an observer of power in action, and real power today is economic power. Therefore, if the journalist doesn't understand economics, he doesn't understand anything. His minor interest should be history, for obvious reasons. Then, if he has time, he may give some attention to English literature. But this is a mere flourish. If he hasn't ideas, style will get him nowhere.⁹

Blame for the temporary misdirection of journalism in American universities does not rest wholly upon the professors in that field. There are many extenuating circumstances. Unfortunately, the opening of classes in journalism was contemporary with the recent unparalleled rush of students to the colleges. To many of the new type of student the courses in newspaper work possessed a quick appeal. There was, for instance, the friendliness of familiar daily contact with the newspaper itself; the subject appeared at the same time both practical and romantic; it required no special academic background or interests; it afforded an opportunity to acquire a profession in four years, without the additional training requisite to law and medicine; its difficulties were not

⁹ Statement of Gerald W. Johnson of the Baltimore *Evening Sun*, formerly head of the Department of Journalism at the University of North Carolina.

comparable to those of engineering; and the new courses were advertised by vigorous promotional activities.¹⁰ The authentic professors found themselves swamped with students over night. There being but few adequate and available instructors, the journalism faculties were recruited with teachers who often lacked scholarly foundations and scientific points of view.

Journalism as an academic branch has not yet recovered from its early innundation by ill-informed enthusiasts. At present between 250 and 300 institutions of higher learning are breathlessly trying to teach some 12,000 students how to be successful newspaper reporters and copy-readers. And to supply the constant demand for journalism teachers, several of the schools of newspaper work regularly send about one-fifth of their raw graduates to the instructional staffs of newly established schools and departments. Fewer than one-tenth of the colleges offering courses in journalism are recognized by the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism. The twenty-one members of the association at present have a combined enrollment of 5,000 students, or nearly one-half the total number in the United States.

In spite, however, of the caustic denunciations of the teaching of journalism which have from time to time appeared in the educational periodicals, there has remained a sound and realistic basis to the

¹⁰ Even now the promotional publicity of a few of the schools of newspaper work is grotesquely extravagant. "Journalism is an open-sesame—literary and business men got starts on newspapers—there is something about newspaper work that gets you—perhaps it is . . . knowing celebrities—the newspaper man is an object of awe and respect" are selections from a special publication recently mailed to hundreds of high-school students by the newspaper school of a distinguished university.

movement.¹¹ Few courses in newspaper training given in reputable universities have minimized, at least in theory, the necessity of social science backgrounds in the education of newspaper workers; in fact, the usual proportion designates that about one-eighth of the college work is to be done in the strictly journalism classes. Also, it is true that the unscholarly motivation, which is a kind of hybrid between idealism and opportunism, has resulted in some tangential efforts which are of definite, if relatively unimportant, utilitarian value. For instance, a number of the newspaper schools have recently put a great deal of energy into rendering business services, such as improved accounting systems and aids in obtaining advertising, to the small country and community newspapers.

The consequences, nevertheless, of this mass training of applicants for newspaper jobs remains dubious. Without question, many valuable employees, as well as a few executives and creditable independent journalists, have been produced. On the other hand, the schools of newspaper work have contrived to flood the field with job-seekers at the precise period during which the number of jobs has decreased materially as a result of the mergers of newspapers, the general introduction of mechanical appliances, and the growing tendency toward centralized news-gathering agencies.¹²

The time has come for the teaching of journalism to take stock of itself. I am unwilling to admit that it is the only academic branch which is open to unfavor-

¹¹ An intelligent adverse criticism appeared in *School and Society*, XXVII, no. 704; entitled "The Road to Journalism" by John A. Pollard.

¹² Description of this general trend is contained in William Preston Beazell's "To-Morrow's Newspaper" in *The Atlantic Monthly*, 146, no. 1.

able criticism, but I am certain that its advent into the universities has often lacked intellectual and practical guidance and that, like Stephen Leacock's English country gentleman, it has leaped upon a horse and ridden furiously in all directions.

Unless journalism is to be relegated to the plane of trade-school or vocational training, it must definitely take the field as a social science.¹³ A distinction which follows the tradesman is that his work is of a routine character which does not allow room for the expansive effect of his personality; that is to say, his individuality has no direct social consequences; he does not condition society; his potentialities are atrophied in the particular mold set for his work. In the words of Alexander Meiklejohn, "His function is not to think, but to do." It is clear that journalism has not been, and that it gives little evidence of becoming, a trade in this sense. Therefore, the trade-school or vocational instruction in newspaper work can accomplish nothing further than a hastening of the mechanization and subsequent perversion of free and independent journalism. Sound instruction in journalism, on the other hand, must rest fundamentally upon a realization of the nature of the periodical as a social force.

Such an approach immediately demands a broadening and clarification of journalism in terms of its real nature and its suitability for academic usage. The most essential concept in journalism is that of proximity—proximity of time and place; this principle is based upon the psychology of attention and interest, which vary inversely according to proximity of time and place. What happens at our doorstep at the moment is more

interesting than the same thing, under similar conditions, would be at a distant time and place. That is why editors insist upon the "local angle" when possible, and why they like the word *today* employed in the first sentence of news articles. Through imagination we project ourselves into a distant time and place, but such an act requires an extra effort, and our impression loses in vividness when such a transition is effected.¹⁴

Journalism is based upon immediacy; other factors, such as magnitude and human appeal being equal, journalism derives its interest, its *raison d'être*, from its element of immediacy. Another distinguishing characteristic of journalism is that it is based upon current actualities, the present sensuous perception of the existing picture. Its realm is not that of speculation in the philosophic sense, nor that of artistic or imaginative projection, which are the elements of fiction and poetry. It follows, therefore, that journalism is a science, rather than an art; and, being concerned with mankind's relationships, it is a social science.

In our experiments in teaching journalism, which are now in their third year at the University of Alabama and which were suggested by the experiences of several years in teaching English and journalism at Wisconsin and Minnesota—as well as an extended period in active journalistic work—we have sought to utilize the principles which have been stated. Primarily the aim has been to devise a methodology for giving the student a preliminary picture of the present-day realities, for such a procedure would be the first step toward transforming journalism into a definitive university curriculum. Besides being of consider-

¹³ Another statement of the quandary appears in "Journalism at the Crossroads" by Clarence E. Cason in *The English Journal* (College Edition), XIX, no. 4.

¹⁴ *What Is News?* by Gerald Johnson; New York, 1926; elaborates various aspects of news in a thoroughly illuminating manner.

able value *per se*, such a methodology might be expected to yield three important results: to provide for the general liberal arts student an avenue toward more specialized studies in a chosen social science; to prepare an approach for topical and regional studies which would synthesize all the social sciences; to furnish a basis for the professional training of journalists.

If we agree in general with Albert North Whitehead that the main justification of the study of the past is an understanding of the present, we must attach significance to a methodology for approaching the present directly.¹⁵ And certainly the magnitude of today's changes, as compared with the extent and rapidity of changes in corresponding periods of the past, renders the present less understandable in terms of the past than ever before. By the same token, education today demands study of the present scene with special concentration. Since an expansive survey of the present age, executed as systematically as possible, is a logical preparation for more intensive studies in special aspects, it follows that a course of instruction involving such a broad view, with both scope and direction, would be consonant with our educational purposes. The materials for such courses naturally group themselves under the head journalism as it appears in newspapers, magazines, and books.

¹⁵ "I would only remark that the understanding which we want is an understanding of an insistent present. The only use of knowledge of the past is to equip us for the present. No more deadly harm can be done to young minds than by depreciation of the present. The present contains all that there is. . . . An age is no less past if it existed two hundred years ago than if it existed two thousand years ago." From "The Aims of Education" by A. N. Whitehead in *The New Republic* for April 17, 1929; later published in a volume with the same title; New York, 1929.

The kind of book which constitutes journalism is one dealing with factual aspects of the contemporary scene and written for the layman or general reader. Within recent years this type of book has enjoyed considerable prestige in the United States. The factual articles and editorials in magazines compose an important field of journalism. In the reportorial and interpretive content of newspapers—exclusive of the fiction, verse, and so-called amusement features—we have the primary source of journalistic material. Definitive studies in journalism must comprehend and correlate the three sources of data—books, magazines, and newspapers.¹⁶ The function of journalism in college should correspond to its function in the intelligent world, where it is an essential and natural source of primary information and comment, and by no means the final reference or authority. It possesses the nature of a stepping-stone, a bridge, an avenue; nor is its functionary importance diminished because its nature does not embrace final objectives in the pursuit of knowledge.

Though journalism deals with a division of the subject matter of history, political science, economics, and sociology, it presents no conflict with any of them. History, for instance, is concerned with the past, and the paradoxical expression *current history* implies that certain events in the present are important enough to merit a place in the long chronicle of men and nations. But current history is different from journalism, for their determining factors are not the same: history is based upon the element of importance, which is estimated according to the probable influence of events; journalism, on the other hand, is based mainly upon

¹⁶ For a statement of the uses made of current newspapers in college work, see *Editor & Publisher*, 62, no. 45, p. 38.

interest, and the public interest may be out of all proportion to the importance.

Indeed, the fact that *interest* is a characteristic element of journalism is one of its strongest potentialities in the educational system. The presence of a dramatic actuality, possessing both proximity and magnitude, stimulates a far-reaching concern for the basic conditions underlying the current event or situation. That is another way of saying that the interest in news is spontaneous and volatile; it leads of naturally into an intellectual curiosity concerning backgrounds. For instance, a student's desire to know the social backgrounds of Russia is actuated by news of the Soviet revolt. Historical interest in China follows upon the spontaneous attention to the conflicts of the Kuomin-tang. The march of Gandhi to the sea stimulates a voluntary concern for the structure and administration of the British economic system. Similarly, the Scopes trial at Dayton, Tennessee, transforms a vague and abstract study of social and philosophic theory into a vital, concrete, and purposeful inquiry into fundamentals.¹⁷ Unless one insists upon cleaving to the conception of education as essentially a discipline, there appears to be no reason why the natural processes of the mind should not be capitalized upon in the propagation of knowledge.

In our experimental teaching of journalism there has been a constant striving to utilize this psychological advantage. The aim has been to start with eager and voluntary interests, based upon matters of wide current discussion, and to lead them into the paths of special knowledge, and even scholarship. Clearly cut limitations of the procedure, as well as its advantages, have been recognized. After pursuing the

survey courses in journalism to a certain point, the student continues to develop his chosen field in one of the departmentalized fields of social science. That field, of course, might be journalism itself. The general courses are designed to encourage the heightened interest stimulated by current events which graphically illustrate principles of the social sciences. Experience thus far is indicative that these courses actually provide an orientation that is both effective in relationship to performance in subsequent specialized work and soundly instructive within their own realm.

The process of teaching journalism by this method is constructed around four basic courses, which are fundamental: one providing the general survey of contemporary affairs, which is called, for want of a better title, *The Press and Current Events*; a second, termed *American Newspapers*, which deals with the content of representative modern newspapers and also with their nature and implications as social forces; a third, designated *American Magazines*, which attempts a similar study of the contemporary periodical; and a fourth, which deals with the journalistic material appearing in volumes, and which is called *Recent Books*. Subsidiary courses treat such divisions of the field as editorials, history of American journalism, critical reviews, the community newspaper; and a seminar course offers opportunity for scholarly research on suitable topics. Only four courses attempt direct technical or professional training: one elementary and one advanced course in journalistic writing, a one-semester class in newspaper technique, and another one-semester course in the business management of publications.

While the sequence of courses does not emphasize technical or professional training, it is clear that the cultural work

¹⁷ Jane Addams has discussed a similar theory under the title "Education by the Current Event" in *Survey Graphic*, LXIV, no. 11.

involved is itself the most adequate vocational training for the journalist. If we are to think of journalism as residing upon a higher plane than that of a trade, we at once realize, in somewhat the sense employed by John Dewey in another connection, that cultural and vocational training are not necessarily opposed in spirit and content.¹⁸ But only about seven per cent of the 385 students enrolled at present are expecting to enter journalism as a life work; consequently, the point of view of the courses is largely that of the general liberal arts student. That this should be the case was one of the fundamental objects of the plan. This design, however, is radically different from that maintained at several universities with similar enrollments in journalism; the unfortunate prevailing attitude is to treat students in journalism courses as if they were in every case destined to enter newspaper work, which is manifestly a physical impossibility. Professional training must bear the same relationship to courses in journalism as the training of social workers bears to courses in sociology; the same relationship that training in professional literary composition bears to courses in English and American literature.

At first glance it might appear that the orientation courses, which have been mentioned, might be in danger of leaving the student in that condition so aptly described by William Bennett Munro as "mentally unbuttoned."¹⁹ Such, however, does not seem to be the result in practice. Unity and direction are maintainable because the current events and problems during any limited interval, such as a college term or semester, tend to seg-

regate themselves into definite groups of topics. In other words, the apparent hodgepodge of events naturally classify themselves into a limited number of situations and trends. The rise of Fascism, Sovietism, and nationalism, political elections, prohibition controversies, government regulation of utilities, disarmament conferences, racial conflicts and adjustments, industrialization of the South, prison reform and crime control, farm relief, development of aviation, and administration of justice are among the topics with which serious journalism is concerned at this time. And so the arrangement of materials in the journalism courses is always topical; the effort is to study each significant occurrence in relationship to the general trend or situation under which it classifies.

By using Siegfried's *America Comes of Age* as a text in the first semester of the general course and Lynd and Lynd's *Middletown* in the second semester, it is possible to supply the student with a general view of American conditions and trends and then with a localized view of much the same phenomena.²⁰ And through having the students systematically read such weekly magazines as *Time*, *The Outlook*, *The Nation*, and *The New Republic* concurrently with Siegfried and Lynd, it is possible to achieve a synthesis between the basic conditions and the current manifestations. Again, in the magazines course, in which the students subscribe to such periodicals as *The Atlantic Monthly*, *Harper's*, *Scribner's*, *The American Mercury*, *The Forum*, and *Survey Graphic*, it is found that the articles readily lend themselves to a topical arrangement during any given period. The

¹⁸ *Education and Democracy* by John Dewey; New York, 1926, pp. 358-374.

¹⁹ From an article entitled "Quack-Doctoring the Colleges" by W. B. Munro, in *Harper's Magazine* for September, 1928.

²⁰ In placing a mature and advanced book of this type in the hands of undergraduates, it is of course necessary to explain the French bias from which it is written.

same is true of the volumes selected for use in the course of study in current general books.²¹

This year, for the first time, representatives of the liberal arts departments of economics, sociology, political science, and journalism are combining their efforts in a course entitled *Modern Trends*.²² Each of the four instructors involved has selected two topics especially identified with his field but also having a bearing upon the other three; that is to say, the problem in each case is being attacked from four angles, instead of from one.

²¹ Student response, numerically as well as intellectually, has appeared satisfactory. Enrollments in journalism classes has risen from 47 to 385 during the three years in which the altered point of view has been in force at the University of Alabama.

²² Professors associated with the author in this composite approach to present-day problems are: E. Baskin Wright, in political science; E. W. Gregory, Jr., in sociology, and Carroll R. Daugherty, in economics. The class at present is limited to twenty advanced undergraduates who were admitted through consent of the instructors.

The selections this year are as follows: for economics, unemployment and industry in the South; for sociology, trends in religion and the Negro in the South; for political science, party politics and the World Court; for journalism, public opinion and propaganda, especially with regard to prohibition and the Soviet régime.

Space does not permit an account of the possibilities for creative research in journalism considered as a social science. Passing mention, however, may be made of one approach which is full of potentiality. Much has been said of journalism as a creator of public opinion; on the other side, fruitful material would result from considering journalism, and especially newspapers, as a *reflection* of public opinion, tastes, and transient interests. Although the use of journalistic materials is a regular procedure with the traditional historian, the methodology of modern social science has not as yet been directed toward the field of journalism to any appreciable extent.

The Southern Council on Women and Children in Industry has adopted the following minimum legislative goals for the Southeastern states:

- A. Elimination of night work in industry for women and for children under 18 years of age.
- B. Limitation of hours of work for women in industry to a maximum of nine hours per day and fifty-four hours per week, with one day's rest in seven.
- C. Regulation of child labor in industry as follows:
 1. No employment of children under fourteen years of age.
 2. For children between fourteen and sixteen years of age, an eight-hour day, forty-four-hour week, and one day's rest in seven.
 3. A work permit for children between 14 and 16 years of age, based upon: (a) Proof of age; (b) Physical examination showing fitness for work contemplated; (c) Completion of sixth grade in school; (d) Promise of work.
 4. Elimination of children under eighteen years of age from dangerous occupations.

In adopting the nine-hour day and 54 hour week as the minimum standard to be the immediate legislative goal, it was recognized that an 8 hour day and 48 hour week is the standard already adopted by some states and has the endorsement of many organizations; but in view of the fact that even the 9 hour day will be a distinct advance for most of the states involved it was deemed best to set up an achievable rather than an ideal goal.

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY*

Contributions to this department will include original articles, reports of conferences, special investigations and research, and programs relating to marriage and the family. It is edited by Ernest R. Groves of the University of North Carolina.

CERTAIN INFLUENCES OF SCIENCE ON THE FAMILY

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ALTHOUGH history fails to give any evidence on the matter, we may be sure that when its routine and environment were so greatly changed, the intimate relations of the Noah family were altered in many and unexpected ways. In our own times, science, like a flood, has modified our way of life and all the details of our surroundings. Methods of warfare, the church, the state, our systems of education, all have felt the results both of its applications and its teachings. The family, like other institutions of previous levels of civilization, is being molded by this great force which, more than anything else, differentiates our age from days gone by.

The early effects of science upon thought were doubtlessly reflected in the behavior of communities and the larger social groups. It was doubtlessly not until the interplay of science and invention ushered in our present day industrial life that the inundations of science began to be felt by the family. One by one the various indus-

tries which centered within the home—soap making, weaving, shoe making, baking and sewing—were removed, and it has long since ceased to be the self-contained economic and industrial unit which once it was. The convenience and economy, the saving of time and the increased quality of the products, may be pointed out as advantages of distributing these labors among specialized workers of the larger group. Yet in the process, something was gradually lost. Gone forever is the picture of the entire family toiling together for a common end. As the industries left the home, simple tasks could no longer be carried out by the young and the very old. The members of the family became divided into those who played and those who worked and those whose work was done. No longer did each contribute his bit, small though it might be, toward the necessities of the group. The young and old ceased to be participants in the scheme of active life.

* Although there was never greater attention given to the problems of marriage and the family, there is at present no scientific periodical devoted to their discussion. The journalist is invited by newspapers and popular magazines to exploit the widespread interest in matrimonial and family experiences, but aside from *The Family*, which is adapted to the needs of the social worker, and the child-study magazines, there is no publication that stresses the research and interpretation of the scientist.

The appearance of an ever increasing number of books treating problems of marriage and the family reveals the interest of the serious student and suggests the need of offering opportunity for the publication of scientific articles. This department of *SOCIAL FORCES* aims not only to provide space for such articles, but also to encourage the scientific study of marriage and the family.

With the applications of science to industry the progress of urbanization was accelerated. To the family, this has meant a wider differentiation of the interests of its employed members. With the growth of the cities has come the greater geographical distribution of the workers and a consequent increase in the difficulty of gathering together for the commonplaces of life. Concomitantly has come a decrease in the physical dimensions of the home with the ever increasing popularity of efficiency apartments. Whether small homes and apartments have developed to meet the demands of small families, or whether such homes tend to keep families small, would be difficult to determine. In either case, it is reasonably certain that crowded conditions tend less to unify the family than to accentuate the incompatible characteristics of its members.

Industrialization and the drift to the cities has, however, brought with it an increase in the hours of leisure, the abolition of child labor, and unprecedented educational opportunities. But one cannot be entirely sanguine as to the effects of these changes upon the group as a whole. The leisure hours are not spent in rest and relaxation about the fireside but for the most part according to the individual taste in the commercialized amusements away from the home. Or the husband who has been away at work all day wishes a quiet evening at home, while the wife would fain seek relief from her day of monotonous confinement. As for educational advantages, over-enthusiasm has led to legislation regarding compulsory education which has not infrequently fostered antisocial behavior which would not have entered as a family problem had the child been allowed to discontinue his schooling when his inclination had ceased or his mental capacity had been reached. Again, the difference in educational advantages en-

joyed by parents and children has never been so great as to-day. While this is unquestionably a measure of progress, and is perhaps unique in extent with the present generation, it introduces new problems of discipline, respect and obedience. Should the time ever come, however, when all alike are enabled to partake of intellectual training up to the limit of their mental ability, this phase of the problem will be only lessened and not completely solved. A gap may still exist between the generations as, indeed, between other members of the family, caused by the various degrees of native ability which may be present in the group.

From a somewhat different angle, there has come with the changes science has wrought in our thought and mode of life a markedly greater instability in the structure of the family as such. With science bringing many fundamental tenets of religion into doubt, it becomes increasingly difficult to believe that marriages are made in Heaven. Sacred and holy matrimony have become meaningless poetical terms, and as we approach the realities of temperament, worldly wealth, physical and mental health, the last vestiges of spirituality disappear. Love is divided into many categories—platonic, compensation for one thing or another, the search for a father or mother substitute, an outlet for unsatisfied parental affection, paraphilia of all kinds—until it is possible to place the indisputable sanction of our newest god upon invading relationships which a sterner code of love and loyalty would never have tolerated. In place of the indefinable love of the past, we find a studied analysis of convenience, companionship, economic advantage, social desirability and sex appeal. The permanence of the marriage contract which was able to survive the inevitable conflicts which must arise between people in close association has been lost with the

realization that the phrase "until death do us part" is but a heritage of a less emancipated day and in its stead a mental reservation introduces an experimental attitude. All these changes may hold forth the vision of fulfilled desire and the fullness of life for the individual, or for certain members of the family, but for the institution itself they hold only insecurity.

The freedom to sever the bonds of marriage is greatly facilitated by the reduction in the size of the family. Although birth control is not new, science has greatly aided in the variety and certainty of methods and in the wider dissemination of knowledge regarding it. The availability of methods has doubtlessly increased extramarital relations, but these, whether entered into as adultery or fornication, are carried on in so covert a manner as to have in themselves but slight effect on the family. The most pertinent aspect of this phase of our scientific age is the arbitrary limitation of the size of the family.

With more general knowledge of birth control have come smaller families and more childless ones. Much speculation as to the ultimate effect of this change could be made. Its ramifications are far more extensive than the problems of race suicide and national supremacy. When we consider the family itself, both evidence and prophecies of good and evil could be advanced. It might be questioned whether the child of a small family finds it more difficult to make adjustments to the larger group of society or whether his better care more adequately prepares him for maturity. It would be interesting to know whether clinical studies would substantiate the popular belief in the prevalence of undesirable social qualities of only children. On the one hand we can think of the economic, social, and educational advantages for children of small families, and on the other we can consider their

lack of the fuller experiences of family life in the formative period and in the environment which has proven most powerful in molding attitudes and reactions.

Again, there is an indeterminate balance between the gains and losses of those who go through life with few or no offspring. In such families there is doubtlessly a lesser incentive to achieve financial security and we may believe also a diminished stimulus to lead exemplary lives. Arguments that children keep one young are met with those that the confining years of child care serve to age and mature. Surely the very large families of former years had the latter tendency both physically and emotionally. Against the accusations of material selfishness as characteristic of the childless couple may be placed the argument that children are begotten for the satisfaction of seeing one's thwarted life fulfilled, in hope at least, in the flesh and blood of another generation. And with the pessimism of this age of science, the growing feeling among youth that "we are born in others' pain, and perish in our own," the point can be raised that perhaps passing on the flaming torch, if intentional, is merely a last futile attempt to find personal satisfaction in life.

That children hold the family together is doubtlessly true where finances and feelings of duty enter. But where such factors alone constitute the tie that binds, it is of questionable value to the parents and fraught with dangers for the children. They are apt to carry throughout life the maladjustments born of their parents' seeking to find in them satisfactions to compensate for their mismating.

If fewer children are born to-day, a larger proportion is reared to maturity. Although science has not materially lengthened the span of years, it has greatly increased the life expectancy in the earlier years. What effect, if any,

this will have upon the family will ever be obscured by the numerous factors involved.

With few or no children, migration of the family is more readily possible. And this, in our highly specialized industrial civilization, is frequently not only advantageous but necessary. As old industries are replaced by new, as overproduction results from the application of science to manufacturing, labor is forced to new centers of industry or unemployed until new devices of the machine age create new demands. New centers of population are born, new types of labor demanded, and both skilled workers and laborers feel the effect of science upon the need of their services. Thus families are forced to shift from place to place to meet the ebb and flow of industrial requirements. Indeed, it has recently been suggested that it is better for the laborer not to own his own home so that he may be more free to follow most advantageously the drift of his trade or the demands for labor.

In the somewhat extreme case, but in growing numbers, we find such migratory workers establishing homes in automobile camps or taking temporary possession of abandoned farm houses at the outskirts of the cities. Their work may be of a seasonal character which carries them to different parts of the country or such as to keep them employed on the nearby farms in summer and in the factories in winter. In any case, the stability and normal functions of family life are impaired. Antisocial tendencies are less apt to be translated into acts when one's worldly goods are not able to be borne away in the night. Even the well-established feel more free to indulge their own desires in disregard of family ties when beyond the pale of neighbors and community influence.

The free and easy life which must obtain in the case of the extreme type of migratory

workers must engender in the children of such families characteristics which often are far from desirable for their future well-being. Obviously, their schooling must be irregular and greatly impaired. The newer socializing influences, such as athletic associations and scout groups, are unavailable to them. Even when the family moves but little, and only from one city to another, the important contacts of the children are broken and their formal education is pursued under handicap and frequently with loss of time.

The industrial maelstrom wrought by science has most markedly affected the status of woman and thus of the family. When gainful employment of women was largely confined to domestic service, there can be little doubt that it augmented the early home training and better fitted her to take charge of her own home. With the wide variety of occupations now open to women, there is more question as to their function as a preparation for family life. There is danger for those who are particularly successful and for those whose work requires an extended period of training that marriage may be postponed until an age when it is more difficult to make the necessary adjustments. The larger experience and broader outlook may make the wife more or less content in the sheltered atmosphere of the home, depending upon her individual nature and the chances of finding suitable political, club, or social outlets. It is often suggested that such experience gives an appreciation of the value of money and better prepares a woman to be guardian of her husband's earnings. But in view of the importance of early conditioning in all matters of behavior, the possibility of economic exploitation of woman's desires in matters of dress, the relatively high proportion of her income that a woman has been accustomed to spend, compared to a man, for the necessi-

ties of life, in view of all these and many other things it would take the life histories of the wives of a Solomon to establish the assertion.

In earlier times employment for women was looked upon as a makeshift for marriage or as a profitable way of filling in the years until that event should occur. Later the attitude shifted until it was a question of marriage or a career. To-day, with an ever-increasing number of married women in gainful pursuits, the proportion following a career in the true sense is becoming smaller and smaller. This increase, in industrialized countries, of married women engaged in work outside the home, creates an important problem in regard to the family not only in those families where it is an actuality but also because of its psychological effect upon women in general.

In case there are young children in the family it doubtlessly works a hardship upon them, except in a material way, to have both parents employed outside the home. In a certain few cases it is possible that hired help or the nursery school may give better socialization and equally satisfactory emotional life. Where there are adult children or none at all, certainly many advantages may result. The intellectual lethargy which domesticity is apt to engender gives way before the competitive struggle of the larger world. The petty incidents of home life are replaced by the events of the less circumscribed group. The entire family develops in a wider sphere of interests and broader topics of discussion. Where both husband and wife are in specialized work, however, difficulties may arise as to the ability to take advantage of opportunities which might be desirable for one because of the possible sacrifice of the other's career. Again, if both are in the same profession we may find certain jealousies, but with society

organized as it is to-day, if the husband is the more able this is likely to have little effect upon the family, and even if it be the wife who is more able we shall perhaps have simply a new and more real picture of the quiet little woman behind every great man.

The financial aspects of the working family are likewise capable of presenting more than one possibility. Obvious material advantages may accrue from the enhanced incomes, and comforts which a single salary could not procure may weld the family into a closer bond of happiness. But if the responsibilities of the present and future are not shared, it may lead to a dissociation of interests in the present, and if only one takes thought of the future it casts upon that one the burden of saving from one salary sufficient to meet the demands of two lives accustomed to the luxury of a double income. If it is the husband who is extravagant, the wife can terminate the situation as one of life's unfortunate experiments. If the reverse is the case, however, since the moral and legal obligations rest with the husband, in a sense the wife is more free than married and the husband more slave. Even so, the changing attitude toward alimony indicates that such a union need not long endure.

The ability of women, both married and single, to find employment gives rise in other ways to further instability of the family. It makes possible after marriage a weighing of its advantages and disadvantages, and if the early period of marital adjustment seems difficult the knowledge that livelihood and social approval may be had outside of marriage may be personally reassuring to both parties, but at the same time conducive to facing the situation from an individualistic standpoint. The stigma of admitted failure and need to return to the parental home have both

largely disappeared with the economic independence of woman.

The early days of woman's emancipation were reflected in literature by pathetic pictures of the rape of the virgin by her vicious employer and lurid descriptions of the home wrecking vampire. With the novelty of the situation vanished and more realism in literature, we find a more accurate presentation. The truth no doubt lies far from these extremes. Where a family situation might arise in the case of an employed wife, it is more than likely that opportunity would otherwise be found for unconventional relations. The tranquility of the average family where both are employed is more likely to be disturbed from time to time by conscious or unconscious comparisons with business or professional associates. Such comparisons may be unjust since they involve on the one hand people who are associated only part of each day and without any feeling of mutual obligation and, on the other, those whose thoughts have become platitudes, whose actions have become predictable, who are bound by law and harassed by financial and other matters which enter only into the marital relationship. While such comparisons may, therefore, be unfair, they nevertheless contribute to the instability of the family in this period of flux when the code of conduct and convention is not yet a stable reflection of the necessities of the changed environment. The modern woman might ask by what right she should be denied the freedom of professional luncheons, contacts and comparisons, and the modern man might answer simply, none. But the question here involved is the effect of these additional extra-familial contacts, over and above those where only the husband is employed, upon the family as an institution.

Not only has science wrought changes

in the immediate family but also in its relations as a source from which new families emanate. It has permitted greater distances between the new families and the parents. Our fast trains, automobiles, and aeroplanes allow return in case of emergency from a greater distance in a given length of time than was ever before possible. But the greater cost of the trip decreases the frequency of visits and diminishes the closeness of relationship and dependence which existed when the ratio of miles to hours was less. This will perhaps have wholesome results not only for the individual families but for society. It is doubtful whether the present means of communication will encourage the continuance of communities which have been perpetuated by the intermarriage of a small number of families. Again, it is likely that the leadership which has caused certain family names to stand out in various countries and parts of countries will be disseminated through a larger circle.

In addition to the changes which science has produced within the family by altering its environment, there have been certain closer contacts. Indeed, it has frequently been suggested that the whole teaching of science, its spirit and methodology, will one day be so inculcated into the group that it will mold our lives and consequently the family, as the group taboos, the church, and other embodiments of moral codes now fail to do. It may be questioned to what extent the threats of hell and hopes of paradise have been determinants toward the good life; but it may even more be doubted in how far the knowledge that life is a great school of consequences, in which the results of our errors shall be visited unto us in the here and now, will be able to direct our lives into channels of greater satisfaction to ourselves and those about us: so little is human behavior subject to prediction of like results from ap-

parently alike causes; so few of our acts are shaped by seasoned judgment; so little is the interplay of the members of the family or of the larger group the result of other than the emotional responses molded in early childhood. If we are to look for any greater understanding and coördination within the family it is unlikely that we shall be rewarded by the infusion of the spirit and method of science into the masses; rather shall we look to direction by the trained few and aid from a small minority.

In such a case, the effect of science will be to shift the appeal to the individual in the regulation of behavior toward one another; from the suasion of the group to the guidance of selected members of society. In place of the "thou-shalt-nots" which have been issued by different members of the family to each other on the sole authority of the group taboos as systematized by the various religions, the innermost secrets of the family will be laid before trained workers from outside in order to determine the origins of tendencies to lie and to steal, to covet and to murder.

The school, the sociological work of the more progressive religious organizations, the various clinics and welfare organizations, all have taken from the home certain of the control and corrective functions of the family. Some of this development has come about to meet the needs of changed conditions; some because of the demands of the newer knowledge; some to meet needs impossible of gratification within the closed group, and some to offer aid where the family has failed. In any case, we find a lessening of the solidarity of the family, but whether this will result in greater advantage to the individual and to the larger social group is an inquiry which can be answered only after the application of science to the moral and emotional life has been given a more extensive

trial. Probably these intimate scientific studies of the family will be less directly applicable to the adult members, since in them conditioning is so firmly established, than to the children.

General sociological and economic surveys will doubtlessly tell the condition and status of the types of families studied, but marked improvement can follow from the knowledge only as it is applied to change environment through applications of science in this direction. Thus, studies of standards of living, working conditions, minimum wage, cultural levels and group loyalty find their applications to the family only as science is able to modify material conditions. For the most part, it appears that it will be the social sciences which will study the family and suggest changes looking toward its well-being, but that the achievement of results will await the direction into the desired ways of the sciences which are able to modify the world about us.

The popularization of particular sciences is apt to have not only little effect upon the family in general, but, in certain cases, perhaps even harmful results. Where the mental ability is sufficient, it will possibly give greater understanding of the methods by which the achievements of science have been produced and clearer insight into human needs, relations and behavior. But these benefits will accrue only to the individuals, and will have little or no effect upon the larger group.

The popularization of such subjects as psychology, if extreme care is not exercised, may hold positive dangers for the family. Phrases such as flight from reality, freedom from inhibitions, release of suppressed desires, may be used to rationalize behavior which a fuller knowledge of the subject would find unnecessary or able to be translated into more wholesome forms of activity. Vague unhappiness due to certain

personality traits or personal maladjustments may be crystallized by being assigned to definite factors, such as, for example, latent homosexuality or a mother complex. The popular knowledge of the characteristics likely to be associated with such difficulties may lead to closer scrutiny of behavior and to further discontent of both husband and wife. Or the unhappiness of the individual himself may be intensified through his own feelings of helplessness and lack of understanding, or through the criticisms of another and suggestions as to his inadequacy. Again, the emphasis upon the effect of early conditioning may widen the breach between parents and children. Without broader sympathy and the realization that the parents, too, were helplessly patterned in their own early days, a little knowledge may censure them for all the difficulties of life's adjustments.

Looking broadly at the changes produced by science upon the family, we see that in the main it has tended to lessen both its physical and emotional unity, the latter, however, largely as a result of the former. As the inventions due to science broke the family circle gathered around the open fire into a clustered group around the fireplace, and later disseminated the members into the various rooms of a uniformly heated house, so now the maternity ward, the cafeteria, the movie, the funeral parlor are replacing institutions and functions which once centered about the home. With these changes has come an alteration in our emotions and attitudes regarding birth, death, and marriage, eating, drinking and making merry; and with these reactions to the new environment the family has not developed as a unit but the various members have turned every one to his own way.

The younger and older members of the

family have emerged as particular problems. Direct applications of science to the former have been shown to be possible until this is appropriately called the age of the child, but the latter have been less benefited. The status of woman has been greatly changed with many resultant complications for the family.

It is difficult to determine the effects of science upon the family. Too many variables enter the situation, and the concurrent changes produced in the entire environment in which the family is placed make it impossible to ascribe to science particular modifications. Rather should we say that science has changed our material surroundings, given new opportunities in education, reduced the working hours, abolished superstitions and outmoded forms of control, given a new purpose to religion, painted a new picture of the obligations of the state: these and large number of other results of science and its applications have molded the family anew.

Some of the effects of science have doubtlessly been beneficial to the family as such, but far more do they seem to have promoted the interest, welfare, and freedom of the individuals at the sacrifice of the unity of the family group. In this process, certain of the biological and socializing functions of the family and of its emotional contributions have been lost. Perhaps further direct applications of the social sciences to the family through bureaus of marital relations and the like, and a fuller coöperation of these sciences in the development and control of those sciences which are able to modify our environment, and hence our attitudes and reactions, will make possible the supremacy of the individual without the loss of those values which the more closely organized family was able in the past to contribute.

THE CHANGING STATUS OF THE NEGRO FAMILY

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INTRODUCTION

ATTEMPTS to explain the character and problems of the Negro family by seeking their origins in African traditions and customs have ended in barren speculations.¹ These speculations have been based upon two assumptions: first, that pre-marital sex experience among African Negroes indicated the absence of social control; and secondly, that there was an unbroken tradition from Africa to America. Concerning the first assumption it is only necessary to remark that this misconception is only a part of the general body of false opinion concerning 'primitive' peoples.² Although a survival of African family life was once reported in Alabama,³ our present knowledge of the conditions under which slavery was established in America leads us to believe that the Negro was completely stripped of his social heritage in the process.⁴ The complete effacement of tribal life in America left the lingering memories of Africa to be borne only by isolated individuals in a world where these memories ceased to have any meaning.

Therefore, for the roots of the Negro

family one must go to the slave family as it developed on the plantation and under the system of domestic slavery; and to the free Negro family which developed outside of the slave system. Our information concerning the character of the slave family has been furnished chiefly by apologists for slavery, who have given us a picture of idyllic happiness under benevolent patriarchs; and by abolitionists whose literature abounded in stereotyped scenes of slave families being torn asunder by soulless masters. The absence of legal marriage, legal family, and legal control over children which DuBois⁵ regards as the essential features of the slave family characterize the family negatively. The real social relations between the masters and slaves and between the slaves themselves can neither be deduced from legal definitions nor inferred from the romantic tradition in which antebellum life in the South has been enshrined.⁶ While to some extent the Negro slave family was subject to the individual judgment and caprice of the masters, it represented on the whole an accommodation to the slave system as it varied from section to section.⁷

The chief question of sociological interest is, to what extent did the slave family constitute a real social group capable of exercising control and of passing on a tradition? It is impossible to answer this question statistically. One limitation upon the functioning of the slave family as an autonomous group was the control of

¹ Joseph Alexander Tillinghast. *The Negro in Africa and America*. Publications of the American Economic Association. New York, May, 1902, p. 160. Corinne Sherman. "Racial Factors in Desertion." *Family*, III. Oct.-Jan., 1922-23. W. D. Weatherford. *The Negro From Africa To America*. New York, 1924. p. 42.

² Charles W. Margold. *Sex Freedom and Social Control*. Chicago, 1926. p. 36. Bronislaw Malinowski. *Sex and Repression in Savage Society*. New York, 1927. p. 195.

³ W. E. B. DuBois. *The Negro American Family*. Atlanta, 1908. p. 21.

⁴ Robert E. Park. The Conflict and Fusion of Cultures. *Journal of Negro History*, IV, 117.

⁵ W. E. B. DuBois. *Op. cit.*, p. 21.

⁶ Francis P. Gaines. *The Southern Plantation*. New York, 1925. Ch. VII.

⁷ E. Franklin Frazier. The Negro Slave Family. *The Journal of Negro History*, XV, 198-259.

the master which began often with the choice of a mate. This control varied from friendly, patriarchal oversight under domestic slavery to pure animal breeding where the slave was regarded as a utility for trade. Within the family group itself the status of the father was always subject to limitations which could be imposed by the masters. The mother who represented the more stable element in the slave family probably occupied a more important position than in a free family. Under the most favorable conditions of slavery, especially among the house slaves and skilled artisans who were allowed to hire their time, the father's position was dominant and family discipline was good. The extent to which family consciousness was developed in some slave families is shown in the life of J. W. C. Pennington. When Pennington's father was given a whipping, he said, "This act created an open rupture with our family—each member felt the deep insult that had been inflicted upon our head; the spirit of the whole family was roused; we talked of it in our nightly gatherings, and showed it in our daily melancholy aspect."⁸

The organization and solidarity of the slave family was not only affected by the character of the institution of slavery in different sections but also by the varying fortunes of masters which caused the disruption of families under the most favorable conditions. On the other hand, where families of slaves were retained in the same family for generations we can note the beginnings of traditions as, for example, in the case of those slaves who succeeded their fathers as preachers and in positions of trust under slavery.

However much the slave family served as an accommodation of the personal wishes and family interests of the slaves to the

institution of slavery, a crisis was precipitated by emancipation. During this crisis the social bonds of the slaves were dissolved in the general breakup of the social organization that had sustained them. In order to realize his new status the slave began to move about and in many cases changed his identity by acquiring a new name.⁹ Thus the Negro family became subject to all the fluctuations of vagrant impulses and individual wishes. The subsequent history of the Negro family in the South has been the establishment of new accommodations to the rural South. Increase in farm ownership up to 1910 has been an index to the stabilization of Negro life. Descendants of slaves have acquired farms which have been parcelled out from the larger plantations. In the towns of the South a few families have achieved some degree of economic independence and culture that has set them apart from the mass of laborers and domestic servants. In many cases these families are descended from slaves having the advantage of contacts with the master class as house slaves. In the larger cities, especially the educational centers, there has grown up a class of educated Negroes with middle class standards and outlook on life. Within this group family traditions have been built up and from this class many of the leaders in the northern cities have come.

Of great significance for the family life of the Negro have been the free Negroes who were scattered for the most part in the cities along the Atlantic seaboard. The usual picture of the free Negro has represented them as a group of social outcasts living in ignorance and poverty.¹⁰

⁸ Booker T. Washington. *Up From Slavery*. New York, 1902.

⁹ H. B. Schoolcraft. By a Southern Lady. *Letters on the Condition of the African Race in the United States*. Philadelphia, 1852.

⁸ J. W. C. Pennington. *The Fugitive Blacksmith; or Events in the History of James C. Pennington*. London, 1850. p. 7.

Yet in Charleston, South Carolina, after the abortive attempt at insurrection by Denmark Vesey, it was argued in a memorial to the Senate and House of Representatives that the free Negroes through their monopoly of the mechanical arts were preventing the settlement of immigrants in that city.¹¹ In New Orleans the property owned by free Negroes amounted to fifteen million dollars in 1860.¹² It was through the guilds of caterers that the more energetic Negroes in Philadelphia were able to meet the competition of foreign labor before the Civil War.¹³ There were settlements of free Negroes in Baltimore, New York, Washington, D. C., in the Northwest Territory, and in the Tidewater Region of Virginia in which families were founded with a tradition of achievement coming down to the present. Consciousness of the distinction which free birth gave caused even the poorer elements of the free Negroes to look down on the new "ishy"—recently emancipated from slavery.¹⁴ The free Negro class furnished many of the leaders of the emancipated slaves, and their descendants are still playing an important rôle in the Negro group.

I

The northward migration of Negroes during and since the World War tended to dramatize the process of urbanization of the Negro population. Between 1900 and 1910 the urban Negro population increased 34.1 per cent for the entire country. During this period southern cities showed a larger percentage increase than northern

¹¹ Documentary History of American Industrial Society. *Plantation and Frontier*, II, 108.

¹² Charles H. Wesley. *Negro Labor in the United States: 1850-1925*. New York, 1927.

¹³ W. E. B. DuBois. *The Philadelphia Negro*. Philadelphia, 1899. pp. 32-39.

¹⁴ David Dodge. "The Free Negroes of North Carolina." *Atlantic Monthly*, 57, pp. 20-30.

cities. This aspect of the urbanization of the Negro has often been overlooked. Although during the decade from 1910 to 1920 the increase in Negro urban population was 32.6 per cent for the whole country, the increase in southern cities was 21.4 per cent and nearly 60 per cent for northern cities. The migrating Negro population has gone chiefly to northern cities of 100,000 and over, which showed an increase in the Negro population of 98.4 per cent.¹⁵

TABLE I
BIRTHPLACE OF 496 ATLANTA NEGROES*

BIRTHPLACE	NUMBER	PER CENT
CITIES OF 50,000 OR MORE:		
Atlanta.....	70	
Macon.....	4	5.1
Savannah.....	1	
CITIES OF 25,000 OR MORE: Columbus.....	3	0.6
FIVE CITIES OF 10,000-25,000.....	21	4.2
CITIES OF 2,500-10,000.....	48	9.6
RURAL COMMUNITIES.....	281	56.6
FIFTEEN OTHER STATES.....	66	13.3
FOREIGN COUNTRIES.....	2	0.4
Total.....	496	99.8

* This information was given on questionnaires used in a study of the Negro family. These families were selected from both the better class and the poorer neighborhoods and included professional people as well as common laborers.

The movement of the Negro to northern industrial centers has been regarded as the second emancipation of the race. The effects of the migrations on the social life of the Negro have been similar to those resulting from the Civil War. The old accommodations to life in the South were destroyed and the disorganization of Negro life in northern cities has been registered in social agencies and courts. In Chicago, for example, the Negro cases constituted a fifth of the major service cases handled

¹⁵ T. J. Woofter. *Negro Problems in Cities*. New York, n. d. p. 31.

by the United Charities in 1928. The extent of family disorganization among Negroes is indicated by the large number of cases of family desertion and non-support, illegitimacy, and juvenile delinquency. The disorganizing effect of urban life on the Negro has caused forebodings concerning his ability to withstand the rigorous competition of the North.¹⁶

TABLE II

BIRTHPLACE AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE OF 314 PERSONS LISTED IN WHO'S WHO IN COLORED AMERICA

PLACE OF BIRTH ¹⁷	PLACE OF RESIDENCE ¹⁸				TOTAL
	North	Border	South	West	
North.....	40	4	2	0	46
Border.....	24	21	3	1	49
South.....	98	23	83	6	210
West.....	4	1	1	3	9
Total.....	166	49	89	10	314

TABLE III

BIRTHPLACE AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE OF 125 GRADUATES OF A NEGRO COLLEGE

PLACE OF BIRTH	PLACE OF RESIDENCE				TOTAL
	North	Border	South	West	
North.....	11	2	3	1	17
Border.....	8	12	2	0	22
South.....	32	10	40	3	85
West.....	0	0	0	1	1
Total.....	51	24	45	5	125

An important but often neglected aspect of the migration of the Negro has been the movement of the more intelligent and energetic members of the race. The rise of large Negro communities in northern cities has opened a field for enterprise and service.¹⁷ A study of the birthplace and residence of 314 persons listed in *Who's Who*

¹⁶ The Negro Migration—A Debate. *The Forum*, 72, pp. 593-607.

¹⁷ Louise V. Kennedy. *The Negro Peasant Turns Cityward*. New York, 1930. p. 85.

in *Colored America* and 125 graduates of a Negro college indicates the northward movement of educated Negroes.

In the *Who's Who in Colored America* group we find that only about 40 per cent of those born in the South have remained there. The college group in Table III shows a slightly smaller migration northward. This group was composed to a large extent of teachers who were compelled to find employment chiefly in the South.

These two groups give some indication of the changing status of the Negro family when we study the occupations of the fathers of those engaged in business and the professions. In both groups about 25 per cent of the professional men and women have come from families whose heads were in the professions. This group represents the second generation of the Negroes in fields where their fathers were pioneers. On the other hand, the rise in occupational status for the majority of the group represents a tremendous change in social status in the Negro group. This change in status carries with it new conceptions of life which affect the stability and the organization of the Negro family.

Between the Negro peasant from the South with his fatalistic resignation to the place given him by the white man and the educated Negro, sometimes representing several generations of culture, both seeking their fortunes in the northern city, there is a disparity in cultural development that only the nascent race consciousness, engendered in part by race conflict, tends to bridge. The peasant in the new environment seeks fulfillment of his awakened ambitions and hopes for a new status.¹⁸ The consequent social disorganization is not merely a pathological phenomenon for the care of social agencies but also rep-

¹⁸ Charles S. Johnson. "The New Negro in a New World" in *The New Negro*, edited by Alain Locke. New York, 1927. pp. 285-288.

resents a step towards a reorganization of life on a more intelligent basis. In the next section there will be exhibited some of the results of an attempt to measure the processes of disorganization and reorganization of Negro life in a northern city.

II

The city of Chicago has offered a laboratory in which to study the changes taking place in Negro life. The expansion of the Negro community in this city has followed the growth of the city. Studies of city

The majority of the 110,000 Negroes in Chicago in 1920 constituted the Negro community which extended from the outer boundary of the business center or the Loop—twelfth Street—southward along one of the main arteries, State Street, for a distance of over seven miles. The area occupied by this community of Negroes, who comprised as much as about ninety per cent of the total population in some sections in it, was about a mile and a quarter wide except where it was bounded by Lake Michigan. By dividing this whole area

TABLE IV
OCCUPATIONS OF THE FATHERS OF SELECTED GROUPS OF NEGROES IN THE PROFESSIONS AND BUSINESS

OCCUPATION OF PERSON	OCCUPATION OF FATHER							TOTAL	
	Agriculture	Common labor	Domestic and personal service	Skilled occupations	Clerical	Business	Professional service		
Who's Who in Colored America									
Professional.....	62	36	23	46	12	20	70	3	272
Business.....	10	4	3	5	1	4	6	0	33
Total.....	72	40	26	51	13	24	76	3	305
Graduates of a Negro college									
Professional.....	21	16	7	24	6	13	30	0	117
Business.....	2	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	6
Total.....	23	17	7	25	7	13	31	0	123

growth have shown that the process of expansion can be measured in rates of change in home ownership, poverty, and other variable conditions for unit areas along the main thoroughfares radiating from the center of the city.¹⁹ The growing Negro community was an opportunity to study statistically the social selection and segregation of different elements of the Negro population.

¹⁹ Ernest W. Burgess. "The Determination of Gradients in the Growth of the City." *Publication of the American Sociological Society*, XXVI (1927), pp. 178-184.

into seven unit areas bounded by streets running east and west at intervals of about one mile each, it has been possible to study small enough units of the Negro population in order that the changes taking place in the social life of the Negro could be measured.²⁰ The differences in the character of the Negro population in these zones together with the varying rates

²⁰ Statistics on the Negro population in these unit areas were secured from the data given in census tracts used as units for the 1920 enumeration. This information was furnished by the Social Research Laboratory of the University of Chicago.

of home ownership, poverty, and family disorganization become indices of the social processes which we seek to measure.

The process of selection and segregation of economic classes in the Negro community is reflected in the distribution of occupational classes in these seven unit areas.²¹ In the first area near the Loop where marked deterioration, high land

indication of the character of the third area where the higher occupational classes were more largely represented. The proportion of the higher occupational classes in the Negro population increased for the succeeding three areas. It was especially in the seventh area that the higher classes were concentrated. The steady decline in the proportion of females employed was

TABLE V

	RATE PER HUNDRED POPULATION 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER						
	Zone I	Zone II	Zone III	Zone IV	Zone V	Zone VI	Zone VII
Professional and Public Service, Trades and Clerical:							
Male.....	5.8	5.5	10.7	11.2	12.5	13.4	34.2
Female.....	3.0	6.5	13.3	13.3	14.8	15.2	33.3
Skilled:							
Male.....	6.2	10.8	12.3	13.6	11.1	14.4	13.0
Female.....	3.9	3.9	7.5	7.7	7.8	7.4	16.6
Railroad Porters.....	1.4	3.9	6.7	6.5	7.5	7.7	10.7
Semi-skilled, Domestic Service, and Laborers:							
Male.....	86.1	78.8	68.9	67.9	68.6	63.6	41.6
Female.....	92.9	88.3	78.4	78.1	76.1	76.8	46.9
Women Employed.....	46.1	48.1	42.3	45.1	39.7	36.6	34.5
Home Ownership.....	0	1.2	6.2	7.2	8.3	11.4	29.8

TABLE VI

	RATE PER HUNDRED						
	Zone I	Zone II	Zone III	Zone IV	Zone V	Zone VI	Zone VII
Charity cases: 1927.....	8.0	8.2	5.3	2.8	1.9	1.0	1.1
Family desertions: January 1, 1926, to June 30, 1928.....	2.5	2.6	2.1	1.5	1.1	0.4	0.2
Delinquent boys: 1926.....	42.8	31.4	30.0	28.8	15.7	9.6	1.4

values, and low rental presage the expansion of the business center, Negro laborers and servants, most of whom were born in the South, are able to get a foothold in the city. The second area showed the same characteristics as the first but gave some

also an index to higher culture in the succeeding areas. The rate of home ownership among Negro families in these areas was an indication of family stability. Among the poorer migrant families of the first area, there was no homeownership and the 1.2 per cent for the second area was due to the presence of a small group of Negroes of a higher cultural status. The gradual in-

²¹ E. Franklin Frazier. "Occupational Classes Among Negroes in Cities." *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXV, 718-738.

crease for the succeeding areas followed the increase in the proportion of the higher occupational classes in the population. In the seventh area where a third of the men and women employed were in professional services, about thirty per cent of the families owned their homes. The variation in proportion of the different occupational groups living in these areas and in the rate of homeownership indicated the differences in cultural levels and organization of the Negro community.

When the statistics on the breakdown of Negro family life were related to the culture and organization of the Negro community instead of being taken as a description of average conditions in the entire population, the significance of these statistics as indices to the processes of disorganization and reorganization becomes apparent. In the first and second areas in which, as we have seen, were located the propertyless migrants of the lower occupational classes, the rate of dependency measured by charity cases was about eight per cent. The rates of family desertion were also high for these areas. The high rates of juvenile delinquency—42.8 per cent and 31.4 per cent—were also indicative of the breakdown of family discipline and social organization in a large northern city. The extent of family disorganization reflected in these three indexes declined gradually from the third to the seventh area. The decline in the rate of dependency, desertion, and juvenile delinquency followed the rise in the rate of home ownership and the increase in the proportion of the higher occupational classes in the population.

The significance of these changes in the rates of family disorganization is due to the fact that they reflect the processes of selection and segregation in the Negro community. In Chicago, as in most northern cities, there was a small group of

families, many of them mulattoes with free ancestry, who had achieved an economic and cultural status that separated them from the masses. Some of these families which had acquired a place in the community represented the successful struggles of earlier migrants. These people regarded the migration of the ignorant black masses from the South as a menace to their own position. Before the flood of ignorance, crudeness and poverty from the South, they moved to areas where they could maintain their own standards of behavior. The migrant families who possessed some wealth and culture acquired in the South sought a congenial environment in these same areas.

In the keen competition to serve the newly created desires and wants of the Negro community a new leadership has come to the top with a new conception of life. Among high and low alike, life has come to have a different meaning from that in the South or that of a small Negro community accommodated to a large city. These changes mean disorganization and reorganization of life on another basis. The family is the social group which bears the burden of these cultural changes. In the third area where social disorganization is greatest in the Negro community, family life tends to disappear. In the area near the "Loop" the poorer migrant families struggle against the anonymity and mobility of urban life, while at the other end of the community both those who have been successful in the struggle and those who had the advantage of family traditions and cultural contacts seek to secure these advantages for coming generations.

SUMMARY

In this brief account of the changing status of the Negro family it has been necessary to give some account of the two-

fold background from which it had developed. On the one hand, the Negro family developed under the institution of slavery as an accommodation of the sex and family interests of the slaves to the various forms of slavery. On the other hand, there grew up alongside of slavery a class of free Negroes, among whom some achieved wealth and culture which became the basis of a tradition extending down to the present day. The slave family failed to withstand the crisis produced by the Civil War which swept away the only social organization sustaining the slave family. Since the Civil War the Negro family has been making new accommoda-

tions to the South. Increase in farm and home ownership has been an indication of the growing stabilization. The general urbanization, which has been signalized by the northern migrations during and since the World War, has produced another crisis in the Negro family. The disorganization and reorganization of Negro life in the northern city offers a laboratory for the study of these changes. Some of the results of a quantitative study of these changes in the city of Chicago, where the indices of family disorganization could be related to cultural differences and the processes of community growth, indicate the civilizational process in Negro life.

FINDINGS IN A FAMILY STUDY

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THIS is a study of an American family, from the generation beginning with the first immigrant who came to America in 1767, down to the present generation, including all of the descendants and those who married into the group. Data have already been collected in full for two hundred individuals, and part of the data have been compiled for fifty other persons. It is a mere guess, but probably another hundred individuals will be located who are descendants of the one immigrant.

It was a farm family for four generations but in the last three generations the individuals are found in all walks of life in both rural and urban communities. The first member of the group and his wife spent the last forty years of their life in Augusta County, in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. Through the years, in this same section, most of the members of the family have been born and a large number of them spent their lives there.

NATURE OF THE DATA

The data concern the date of birth, marriage and death of each individual. So far as possible other information is being collected concerning the place of birth, places of residence, education, occupation, and membership in organizations; e.g., economic, religious, fraternal, civic, social, political, welfare, military.

Materials more in the nature of family rituals, traditions and life histories, including those family ceremonials and celebrations, which are recurrent events about which the family life focuses, are also being sought.

METHOD OF THE STUDY

This investigation is being made through personal visits to the older families, by the writer and by others interested in the project. Much of the data is received by means of correspondence with members of the connection which are scattered in other states.

Information concerning the members of the first three generations has been listed from old family Bibles, grave markers, county court records, newspapers, old letters and papers in possession of members of the family, and by conversation with the older living members.

All of the information for the topics suggested in the third paragraph above is listed on record sheets, one for every individual member of the group being studied. The writer has a life-time acquaintance with the main division of the group, and is a member of its fifth generation in a direct male line from the first immigrant.

TABLE I

AGE GROUPS	PERCENTAGE FOR EACH AGE GROUP	
	Present study	Baber and Ross
15-19	18.92	11.87
20-24	37.84	40.13
25-29	25.68	30.02
30-34	10.83	11.34
35-39	2.70	4.00
40-44	4.03	1.70
45 and up		0.94

SOME TRENDS REPORTED

From the materials already compiled there are certain findings which may be of significance in an interpretation of this family. It is to be remembered, however, that the findings mentioned for this family are not yet complete and when all of the data are received and tabulated the situation as presented by partial returns may present a materially different picture, because this is only a preliminary report. There are many comparisons and correlations yet to be made.

AGE AT MARRIAGE

The median age at which the individuals married is 25.61 years for males, and 22 years for females. Table I gives the total

percentage marrying within certain age-groups and a comparison with the past and present generation groups as reported by Baber and Ross,¹ averaged together.

The average age for marrying as reported by Baber and Ross is 26.45 years for males, and 22.71 years for females. Miss Halverson,² reports that for dependent families the probable average is 24.4 years for men and 19.6 years for women.

More of the individuals of the present study have married before the age of twenty by 7.05 per cent than of the two middle western generations reported by Baber and Ross. The age group containing the highest percentage of marriages is 20-24 years. Thus it is found that 56.75 per cent of the individuals in the present study married under twenty-five years, and 52 per cent of the mid-western group married prior to their twenty-fifth birthday. In each of the two groups only 6.73 and 6.64 per cent were married after the age of thirty-five, respectively.

CHILDREN PER FAMILY

The number of children per family is an interesting study in itself. Of the forty-eight families, for which complete data are already listed we find that twenty-five of them have four or more children each. Thus, if the calculation made by Baber and Ross,³ in which they say that for a family to remain above the survival line there must be an average of 3.6 children per married couple, is true, we find that 52.08 per cent of the families of the present study are reproducing enough children to prevent family suicide. And yet nine of the couples have only one child each, which is 18.75 per cent of the total.

Table II gives the percentages of couples

¹ *Size of American Families* (1924), pp. 31-38.

² "The Prolificacy of Dependent Families," *American Journal of Sociology*, 29 (1923-24), p. 341.

³ *Century Magazine* 107 (1924), pp. 504-509.

having from one to fourteen children, as compared with the average of the two generations reported by Baber and Ross. The average size of the family in this study (counting only fertile groups) is 4.16 children; Baber and Ross reported 3.35 children; and Miss Halverson⁴ reported 6.49 children for dependent families. So far as is already known none of the couples in the present investigation are in the indigent class. F. S. Crum,⁵ reports that the

connection Baber and Ross report a period of 24.54 months.

Table III gives the median number of months between the birth of each child after the first. The average interval for the group is 28.64 months between the birth of each child, while for Baber and Ross' group it is 41.04 months. The greatest excess median deviation from this average is found for the third of 29.5 months; for the fifth of 34.5 months; and for the eleventh of 42 months. The lowest average deviation is for the eighth of 22 months; the sixth and ninth of 24.5 months each.

TABLE II
CHILDREN BORN PER COUPLE

NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN PER MARRIED COUPLE	PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES HAVING FROM ONE TO FOURTEEN CHILDREN	
	Present study	Baber and Ross
1	18.75	5.30
2	12.50	12.08
3	6.25	18.33
4	20.84	15.14
5	12.50	13.24
6	2.08	9.86
7	6.25	9.42
8		5.94
9		4.44
10	6.25	2.87
11	4.16	2.01
12		1.27
13		
14		
None	10.42	0.10

average number of children per wife, based on twenty-two genealogical records of American families, was 7.37 before 1700, and 2.77 for 1870-79.

The median age of the parents at the birth of the first child for males is 27.5 years and for females 25.4 years. The median number of months between marriage and the first conception is 4.46, which means that on an average the first child was born 13.46 months after marriage. In this

TABLE III
MONTHS BETWEEN BIRTH OF CHILDREN

FROM FIRST CHILD TO	NUMBER OF MONTHS
2nd	25.57
3rd	29.50
4th	28.50
5th	34.50
6th	24.50
7th	28.33
8th	22.00
9th	24.50
10th	27.00
11th	42.00

The month in which the highest percentage of conception took place as found to be June; with the other months in the following order, from the highest to the lowest,—October, November, January, July, September December, April, May, February, August and March, respectively. June had 11.51 per cent of the total, while March had only 4.71 per cent, and February had 6.8 per cent. According to a study made by R. Clyde White,⁶ February was the time for the lowest percentage of conception. In that study he concluded that conception increased with the rise of the

⁴ *American Journal of Sociology*, 29 (1923-24), p. 339.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 341.

⁶ "The Human Pairing Season in America," *American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1927, pp. 800-805.

temperature and decreases in extremely cold or extreme hot weather.⁷

In the present investigation, of the forty eight families reported in the above table (showing number of children born per family) there were five wives who were infertile, which was 10.41 per cent of the total.⁸ Baber and Ross report two per cent infertile wives in the Eighteenth Century; four per cent for the 1800-49 group; eight per cent in 1870-79 and thirteen per cent in 1890.

INFANT MORTALITY

Records of this American family show a very high death rate for children under the age of five years. Table IV gives the mortality rate for various age groups.

TABLE IV

AGE GROUPS	PERCENTAGE MORTALITY
Under 5 years	28.99
5-14	2.90
15-34	13.04
35-59	17.40
60-74	21.73
75-94	15.94

* This calculation includes a total of 69 persons.

In this case where 28.99 per cent died under five years of age, 20.28 per cent of the total died before reaching the age of one year. The median age of life was 42 years. Baber and Ross found that in their past generation families 12.94 per cent died under five, and in their present generation group only 7.86 per cent died under five years of age, or a mean average of 10.4 per cent.

No specific reason for this high death rate of children in this group has been

⁷ It is probable, however, that the seasonal variation of farm work is of as much influence as the direct influence of the weather.

⁸ There is no proof to show that the husband may not have been the cause of infertile families.

found. It is very probable that when the complete data are available a very different situation will be revealed, and only then can a true picture of the death rate of the children be given. The maximum age of any individual in the entire group was 92 years, 4 months and 7 days. Eleven persons, or 15.9 per cent, were over 75 years of age at their death; fifteen persons, or 21.7 per cent, were between 60 and 74 years; and twelve, or 18.8 per cent, were between 35 and 59 years. This calculation gives a total of 56.4 per cent of the individuals (only those already dead are considered in this count) who lived to be over 35 years of age. Thus it is seen that while the mortality rate under five years of age is very high, the rate after that age is low.

CONCLUSIONS

What conclusions may we draw from the leads or trends as suggested by the incomplete data?

1. The average age at marriage is representative for American families.
2. More than half of the married couples have over 3.6 children each, and the average of 4.16 children is 0.64 less than that reported by Crum and 2.33 less than for dependent families.
3. The number of months between the birth of children is considerably lower than for mid-western families.
4. The highest rate of conception took place in June and the lowest in March.
5. There appears to be fewer infertile couples in the group than are reported for mid-western families forty years ago.
6. The death rate under five years was materially high and over 35 years extremely low.
7. The median year of life was forty-two years old at death.
8. More studies of this nature should be made of what may be termed normal families.

RACE, CULTURAL GROUPS SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

RACE BIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

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THE great French revolution of 1789 brought about, as we know, great changes in many respects. New social classes, and with them new ideas, come to the fore. In some respects, these appeared to be cultural advances, but this was by no means always the case. One belief which reached its climax at this time and took on a dogmatic character, has had the opposite effect, and has retarded progress instead of furthering it. This was the belief in the essential equality of all men. The differences to be found were due, it was believed, only to varying external conditions, such as climate, food, education,—varying habits and customs, in a word, to the environment, which was regarded as the determining factor in progress of various kinds.

It has taken much labour and study to destroy the potency of this superficial belief, which must to-day be regarded as quite simply a fallacy.

The famous Danish student of heredity, Professor W. Johannsen, writes: "We shall not waste breath on the absurd belief that all men are 'born equal.' The Mendelian segregations are in this respect plain enough. And it is beyond all doubt that mental qualities, such as certain gifts, are due to definite hereditary types and pre-

sent the same hereditary conditions as purely physical qualities."

Modern research on heredity can thus not be misinterpreted. It teaches us that the heritage (the genotype) of individuals, nations and races is the essential. Different hereditary combinations lie at the base of each new individual that is born. Within certain limits, the environment will have some influence, and produce further differences, but these variations acquired during life in one or another direction (modifications) will not change the hereditary type. The biological heritage is the essential.

In the middle of the last century, the Austrian monk, *Gregor Mendel* (1822-1884) succeeded in ascertaining certain laws according to which the inheritance of qualities proceeds. Mendel's exceedingly important discoveries did not attract much attention at the time, and were soon forgotten. The time was not yet ripe. However, the rapid development of biology in the course of the next few decades brought about a change, and, when with the dawn of the new century (in the spring of 1900), three investigators, the German Correns, the Dutchman de Vries, and the Austrian von Tschermark independently of one another rediscovered Mendel's laws of hered-

ity, the great significance of these laws was soon appreciated by men of science. From this time on, research on heredity has advanced very rapidly. The biologists took the lead, and thanks to their greater control of the study material, they rapidly achieved important results. Both plants and animals can often be studied in a fairly long series of generations, and the study of inherited qualities may be advantageously facilitated by experiment. Mendel's laws have in this manner been brilliantly substantiated, and new knowledge of their application acquired. As a matter of fact, we now know the laws governing the heredity of a number of qualities.

Exact studies on heredity in man were not instituted until somewhat later. This is due to the fact that medical research on heredity meets with much greater difficulties than purely biological research. Experimentation is impossible in man, and the ability to survey several generations is highly limited. However, the results of the biologists have given an abundance of suggestions which should be followed up by medical men with the aid of genealogic and other research. When medical research on heredity turns its attention not only to the pathologic heritage of the individual, but also to the normal heritage of families and races as well as individuals, and to the other life requirements of these groups, then such research is called race biology.

Briefly defined, *race biology* is the science of the life and development of families, peoples, and races. It inquires into all the factors capable of changing the innate constitution, that is, the quality, of a race, in a favourable or unfavourable direction. Race biology is thus not, as many believe, the purely medical study of heredity, but has numerous points of contact with every possible branch of sociology and biology; already at the present day, it is working far beyond the limits of medical science.

The practical application of results gained through research in race biology is called *race hygiene* or *eugenics*.

It should not be hard to understand the exceeding importance of medical heredity research and race biology. Good racial qualities are decidedly the most valuable possession of a people. The future belongs to the racially fine peoples. Those, on the other hand, that do not fill the requirements of race biology will succumb. It is therefore absolutely necessary that we learn to know ourselves, kith and kinsmen and all peoples. Thorough acquaintance with the racial structure of our people will enable us gradually to take measures to improve or at least keep constant its eugenic standard. Lacking this knowledge, we risk a progressive deterioration from which it will sooner or later be impossible to escape. What has been gained in the course of a great number of generations may be wasted, and regained, if at all, only with the greatest difficulty. *A rational care of race values and a wise population policy are decidedly among the most important problems of a civilized nation.*

Hygiene or the care of the health has made enormous strides forward since the middle of the last century, thanks to the rapid development of biology, bacteriology and other medical sciences. Never before have such excellent results been gained in these fields as at present. Mortality has been greatly reduced; severe infections which in earlier days heavily afflicted all peoples can now be successfully combated or prevented; food, homes, and working conditions have been improved; exercise, sports and other out-door activities are encouraged and are widely practised by the young. Obviously, men's health and physical appearance must have been visibly improved, and there is consequently general satisfaction with the favourable effects. The definite conviction that the human race can be quickly elevated and may in-

crease in strength through social measures alone has gained much ground. Hardly anyone has doubted that these favourable changes appearing in the life of the individual are also able to improve his children by being inherited. But the reaction has come. Scientific research on heredity has been occupied with the study of just these questions, and has demonstrated that "*acquired qualities*," though undoubtedly of the greatest importance for the individual, are not inherited. The genotype is not directly influenced by the environment for either good or evil. These discoveries have been an unpleasant surprise for a great many people. They consistently refuse to believe them, and obstinately retain the views acquired in childhood and accepted as dogmas. In the world of politics, too, the work of the students of heredity has in many quarters been received with distrust and active resistance. No doubt it is difficult to relinquish beliefs learned in earliest youth as indisputable truths, but the law of progress makes it necessary. We advance from dimness and obscurity to ever greater clarity and truth: *post tenebras lux* (after darkness comes light), as the old Roman saying is.

We know now that the striven-for goal, *a sound mind in a sound body*, can not be attained by good living conditions alone, that is, by the environment, however excellent. A good biological heritage, innately good qualities, are above all necessary. If these are absent in an individual or groups of individuals (as in the case of an inherently degenerate individual or a biologically inferior people), a good environment will be more or less powerless.

Every experienced pedagogue or athletic trainer will no doubt agree with me in this, as he knows from his own experience that there are people whom no amount of instruction or physical training will improve. It is not possible to make of a feeble-minded person one of normal gifts,

even if he goes to school all his life, nor can one of a man with a poor constitution, with for example an organic defect of the heart, make a good runner. The main condition for obtaining any appreciable results is thus the presence of trainable qualities or a constitution that is not too imperfect. In such cases, remarkable results are frequently obtained, but these results are purely individual, and cannot be passed on to the children or later descendants.

However, it must not be supposed from this reasoning that environment, up-bringing, education, sports, and good social conditions in general are of no value to the race. We must not forget that a poor environment or misdirected up-bringing may physically injure, indeed, destroy through illness individuals with good qualities, and make it impossible for these qualities to assert themselves. A good environment may also to some extent improve what is defective. *But the environment creates no new hereditary qualities; it merely modifies in a favourable or unfavourable direction the effects of the inherited qualities.*

The same is also generally true of hygienic improvements. Each generation must be constantly on guard and take its own measures, otherwise there will immediately be a retrogression.

We distinguish three kinds of hygiene, first, *personal (individual) hygiene*, second, *social hygiene*, and third, *race hygiene*. The first two have as their goal the improvement of the health of the then living, but race hygiene aims at the still unborn, and seeks by the aid of heredity and selection to promote the physical and mental health of future generations. Thoughtless people believe that race hygiene is a utopic dream of no practical value. Such a belief proves ignorance of race biology and its laws.

As one of the basic principles of race hygiene we must regard the modern thought

that the "biologically well-born," that is, the physically, morally, and intellectually superior individuals, in whatever class of society they may be found, should to the greatest extent possible propagate the race.

The inferior, on the other hand, the *inherently degenerate*, should by confinement, sterilization, and other means be prevented from reproducing.

Naturally, there are practical difficulties obstructing the realization of this ideal, but these must not be permitted to daunt us, for the future of the civilized nations depends on our measures. *We must at any price keep the quality of the race at a high level.*

History teaches us that many highly civilized nations of earlier times, such as the Persians, Greeks, and Romans, degenerated and perished. Their places were taken by other, inferior peoples. Much study has been given to the probable causes, but modern biological research is not as unable to reply to this question as earlier thinkers. The destruction of the empires of the antique world plainly shows us where we are heading as long as the structure of the race is allowed to deteriorate from generation to generation. Formerly, this deterioration was apt to be explained by unfavourable changes in political or economic conditions. But today, we have learned that these factors are not causes, but effects of the progressive degeneration of peoples. The real reason is the biologic deterioration of the human material.

The destruction of old, highly civilized peoples was certainly not due to poor conditions of life; indeed, the reverse was true, as a rule. A greatly and rapidly increasing prosperity, growing into actual wealth creates new demands indefinitely, luxury increases, effeminacy develops. High living breeds indolence. Over-civilization develops. Individualism swells. Children become a burden. Women begin to shun

motherhood. The "empty cradle" policy prevails more and more. This process begins in the higher and more prosperous social classes, but gradually spreads to the lower, poorer ones. The physically and mentally inferior, such as vagabonds, imbecile criminals, and other anti-social individuals, however, still continue to reproduce, satisfying their instincts without restriction, and begetting children "by mistake." These children, often burdened with inherited defects, are an incumbrance to society. In this manner, the human weeds grow up. The old cultured garden grows wild. Conditions become more and more insufferable. Degeneration continues in spite of instruction, hygiene, educational institutions, and hospitals of all kinds. Individual and social hygiene and environment are unable any longer to bring about any improvement. If strong measures in race hygiene are not taken in time, the race will meet with dissolution and extinction. The race perishes when it no longer has the strength to combat degeneration. This has happened in older times, and is what is happening to-day. But our eyes have been opened. We are beginning to understand where the fault lies, and are becoming more convinced that we are able to avoid such catastrophes. We can do so by steadfastly inquiring into the natural laws revealed by heredity research, race biology, and sociology, and by modelling our lives on what we have learned. *It is wrong to believe that these laws are only stern revengers. Correctly understood and applied, they constitute an almost inexhaustible spring of ennoblement and progress.*

It is thus the task of research to take the lead here, as in so many other fields. Rational education should go hand in hand with it.

Well-equipped institutes for research in race biology should be founded in every civilized

country and strongly supported by its responsible citizens. Their task should be to solve, by carefully examining large groups of individuals and entire families, the problem of heredity and thereby pave the way for good eugenic reforms, above all by working for a sound renewal of the race. The instinct of self-preservation of the races will undoubtedly compel such reforms.

But time is flying. Irrecoverable values are rapidly lost. It is the duty and chief task of the cultured nations to take the lead. There is already a very great interest in these questions in many lands, and among the young people it is growing like an avalanche. Galton, the pioneer British

investigator, who has been given the honorary title of the father of eugenics because of his fine character and his important contributions to the science, is probably right in predicting that sooner or later the idea of eugenics will seize the masses with almost supernatural power.

We are probably to-day fully justified in nourishing the confident hope that those nations that have fully understood the significance of heredity and race, and have the will and the strength to bow before the natural laws governing us, *will advance in conquest, preparing the way for a higher culture, a broadened and deepened morality, and a stronger and nobler human family.*

THE BIOLOGY OF POPULATION CYCLES*

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CYCLICAL theories of population growth, as well as of general history, have from very early times received the attention of the ablest intellects. The dichotomy of the cultural and the biological, of environment and heredity, of the innate and the acquired, has likewise been at the foundation of perhaps more discussion in social and biological philosophy and science than any other single classification which man has seen fit to impose upon the data of his universe. As in the case of all theories, this dichotomy was, and still is, a frame of reference invented to fit the facts as known at the time of its formulation. The concepts of mass and force and the laws of motion in mechanics were created in the same way so that we might deduce from them the behavior of moving bodies. Similarly we have created at different times, God, the hedonistic principle, utilitarianism, the social con-

tract theory, and instincts of various kinds, in order that we might deduce from them, all significant empirically observed behavior and the group's evaluation of it.

Theories themselves exhibit an interesting life cycle. The history of physical science abounds in instances of the origin, maturity, and decay of theories. Ptolemaic astronomy and Aristotelian physics dominated man's thinking for centuries. They gave way to their successors only when increasingly refined instruments of observation brought to light data which could not be fitted into the old theories without great difficulty. When these difficulties became so great that it was simpler to construct a new theory of the universe than to force the new data into the old frames of reference, the Copernican and the Newtonian theories supplanted their time honored predecessors.

The substitution of new theories for old

*See Note, p. 408.

does not occur without disturbance nor as soon as the facts warrant. Vested interests—psychological, economic, and educational, as well as the general inertia of culture—habits of thought—frequently retard for generations the acceptance of new and more adequate theories. This culture lag is nowhere better illustrated than in current survivals of biological doctrines of heredity with which it is increasingly difficult to reconcile the known facts. To a large degree these doctrines are able to survive because they constitute a very deep-seated habit of thought—the habit of attributing certain behavior phenomena to heredity and others to environment. Yet there is reason to believe that this dichotomy is as obsolete, especially with reference to the data of culture and personality, as is the Empedoclean division of the elements into earth, air, fire, and water, or the theological dichotomy of body and soul, flesh and spirit.

These considerations are strikingly called to our attention by Professor Corrado Gini of the University of Rome in his recently published lectures on the Cyclical Rise and Fall of Population.¹ Dr. Gini has collected, and is collecting, a great deal of interesting data in support of his theory, and it is a matter of regret that his more exhaustive treatises on the same and related topics are not available in English.² The lectures under consideration, however, present with admirable lucidity and brevity the central theory with full references to the supporting data.

Professor Gini's theory begins with two

¹ *Population*, by Corrado Gini, Shiroshi Nasu, Oliver E. Baker and Robert R. Kuczynski. The Harris Foundation Lectures. (1929) University of Chicago Press, 1930.

² A thirty-three item bibliography of the author's publications on this subject over a period of some twenty years, mostly in Italian, may be found on pp. 13-15 of the work referred to in the preceding footnote.

principal postulates of fundamental importance. In the first place, he takes a definitely organic view of both society and culture. The word "nations," he says, is to be understood "as a group of men having a personality not only from a political and cultural but also from a biological aspect." (p. 12) In the second place, he holds that the usual practice of attributing to psychological controls the low rate of increase among the upper classes is not valid "for psychology is an essential factor in the adaptation of a species." (p. 5)

From these bases the author assembles an amazing amount of data in a closely reasoned argument for the theory that "the reproductive powers of the populations of the world follow a cyclical movement, more or less analogous to that of individuals." Accordingly, the subject is treated under three heads: The Evolution of Nations, The Death of Nations, The Birth and Revival of Nations. The supporting considerations fall into two principal categories. First, the Malthusian theory of the relationship between food supply and population increase is rejected because (a) frequently population increase is least among the wealthy and (b) some uncivilized peoples to whom nature has not been niggardly in providing means of subsistence nevertheless have undergone a decline in population. What we do find is that the reproduction of populations as well as of families is represented by a parabola quite independent of means of subsistence. Only the dearth of adequate statistics, due to the short time during which such data have been collected, says the author, prevents a more adequate demonstration of this thesis. Secondly, the familiar data regarding the growth curve of other species and plants are introduced, with evidence that these phenomena are due to internal factors, depending on the living organisms

themselves and not on the environmental factors.

The internal factor determining the population cycle is alleged to be the normal life cycle of the germ cells themselves. This is not strange, according to the author, when we reflect "that these cells have a common origin and probably, at the start, the identical constitution of the somatic cells, so that, if the life of the latter be limited, it would indeed be strange if the former were able to live and multiply indefinitely." The comparatively rapid rate of growth, maturity, and decay of the somatic cells (corresponding to the life of the individual) as compared with the evolution of the germ cells (corresponding to the life of a population or species group) may be due to the different degrees of exposure of the two types of cells to the differentiating action of the environment.

The population cycle, therefore, begins with a rapid rate of increase due to the fact that each generation consists to a greater degree than its predecessor of the descendants of prolific individuals (the hereditary nature of fecundity being assumed) thus raising the average fecundity of the population. For a time this tendency is greater than the declining tendency caused by the natural exhaustion of reproductive powers. In a subsequent period, "the two opposing forces will balance; and, finally, physiological exhaustion will gain the upper hand." (p. 11)

The important question which arises at this point is, of course, the source of rejuvenation and the beginning of new cycles. To this query the author has an interesting and ingenious answer. The rejuvenation of a stock and the beginning of a new cycle results from hybridization. This is a subject on which there are extensive and conflicting data. Professor Gini proceeds to read order into the confusion as follows: "The germinal plasm evolves under the

more or less slow differentiating action of the environment. And the differentiation can, of course, proceed in diverse directions and with different degrees of intensity. When the crossing brings together germinal plasms which have differentiated in a like or similar direction, it is evident that the effect of this differentiation will not be neutralized in the offspring but will, if anything, be intensified. And this circumstance, sometimes accompanied by want of harmony in the organs and functions of reproduction, frequently causes hybrids to be unprolific or sterile. But it may occur that the differentiation has taken place in the germinal plasm in different directions; and sometimes, in rare cases, in directions which complete each other; and in such cases in the plasm of the crossbreed the differentiations which have taken place in the plasms of the parent-races will be neutralized, conferring on the hybrids, along with other possible characteristics, that plasticity which allows a new race to start on its life-cycle." (pp. 105-106)

The conclusion from this reasoning is that the decreasing rate of population growth, and in some cases its decline, in the countries of northern Europe and America is not the result so much of the increased use of contraceptives, as is frequently assumed, but rather it is merely the result of the exhaustion of the reproductive powers of these populations. The specific data introduced to support this theory are of various types:

1. The declining birth-rate of northern Europe and America cannot be accounted for by any other hypothesis. Statistics of this decline from various places are introduced and it is shown that "even if all the married couples had recourse to contraceptive practices in 1926-28 and none in 1911, it would not even then be possible to account by this cause for the decline in con-

ception during the first three months of marriage to the extent to which it has occurred at Chemnitz or in Saxony as a whole." (p. 73) The conclusion is that to some degree, at least, the decline must be due to the exhaustion of the germ plasm. The lower rate of reproduction among the classes with the higher standards of living within the same group would be accounted for in the same manner.

2. In further support of this point evidence as to the probable frequency with which contraceptive devices are used and the observed percentage of success in such practices (estimated from the experience and reports of various clinics and special studies) makes it evident, according to the author, that "the reduction in the percentage [of conceptions during the first three months of marriage] which has occurred also in other countries, and which amounts to half or one-third of the former level, is very hard to account for by this factor alone." (p. 73) The difference of as much as fifteen per cent in these percentages for different parts of France and Italy is also cited as too large to be accounted for by the difference in the spread of contraceptive practices.

3. Further evidence that the low birth rates among the upper classes are due to depleted sexual vitality is introduced from G. V. Hamilton's study of the sexual life of 200 intellectual families of New York.³ This study showed 46 per cent of the women examined "inadequate to complete the sexual act" and that more than 50 per cent of both brides and grooms either "could not or did not wish to have any intercourse during the first night of marriage." (p. 42)

4. Finally, the author argues that even the adoption of contraceptive practices "is fundamentally due to a weakening of the genetic instinct." (p. 42)

The last conclusion brings us face to face with the most dubious aspects of Professor Gini's theory. Fundamentally, the question involved is whether we shall assume that innate biological urges or instincts determine or are, in a mystical sense, the causes of cultural phenomena as well as of behavior. Professor Gini takes, as we have noted, the affirmative position. (pp. 25, 30, 42, 45) It is necessary here only to point out that this doctrine is completely out of harmony with the conclusions of biological, psychological, and sociological investigation of the last two decades regarding the subject of instincts. It reflects furthermore an antiquated notion of causation as a monistic and mystical concept.

The argument of the author really amounts to a contention that a fundamental reason for the low birth rate in certain groups is evidence of (a) the incapacity of these people to produce live and vigorous sperm and ova, or (b) that their "reproductive instinct" is not sufficiently powerful to bring about sexual intercourse, or (c) both. There appears to be little justification for these conclusions, either in logic or in the inductive data. While the above conditions *may*, and in many cases do, prevent or reduce procreation, there is at least one other logical possibility, namely, that inadequate or inhibiting stimuli (the whole social and psycho-social environment) produce the observed result. Are there any reputable biologists who hold that civilized man or the "upper classes" are fundamentally different in their original biological drives (if any) from the savage or the lower classes? Is it not rather generally granted that the differences in their behavior are due to the differences in the stimuli-complexes to which they have been conditioned and to which they respond?

Even less convincing is the author's

³ *A Research in Marriage*, Boni, 1929.

~~1928~~ Paragraph 2, fifteenth line, fifteen per cent should read fifty per cent.

argument that contraceptive practices themselves are employed because "the urge of genetic instincts have ceased, which allows their minds to receive the persuasive arguments of reason in favor of regulating the number of children . . . and gives them the illusion that they do not desire that which they could not obtain without forcing nature." (p. 25-26) One might contend with equal reason that the abandonment of duelling was likewise evidence of a decrease in the urge of a pugnacious instinct. The same logic would attribute the abstinence of a hungry man from stealing to the weakness of his hunger. All controls developed by man could be explained in the same way. It would be difficult to find warrant for such assumptions in present day biology, psychology, or sociology.

The differential fertility of social classes and of nations is well known. The question, also, as to whether higher standards of living tend to decrease natural fertility is one which has engaged some of the ablest minds and is admittedly an interesting subject for investigation.⁴ It may be further granted that among the upper classes internal sexual drives as well as overt sex behavior, whether due to self-restraint or psychological incapacity, may be materially decreased. Granting for the sake of the argument all of these premises,⁵

⁴ E.g. F. H. Hankins, "Does Advancing Civilization Involve a Decline in Natural Fertility?" *Proceedings, American Sociological Society*, Vol. 24, 1930, pp. 115-122.

⁵ None of them has, as a matter of fact, been demonstrated. On the contrary, there is reputable testimony to exactly the opposite conclusions. See F. A. E. Crew, M.D., D.Sc. Ph.D., Director of the Animal Breeding Research Department, Edinburgh University, "Concerning Fertility and Sterility in Relation to Population," *Proceedings of the World Population Conference*, 1927, (Arnold, London, 1927) pp. 214-233, (especially pp. 220-21). See also in the same volume the remarks of Dr. C. C. Little on psychological factors influencing reproduction in animals. (pp. 234-235).

we still do not have an adequate basis for attributing the cyclical rise and fall in populations to a variation in the vigor of the germ plasm. For even if we grant a low sexual drive among the intellectual classes, short of actual impotence or sterility, the surplus fecundity of every species is such that although the members of this class should be capable of successful sexual intercourse only once a year, they might still, in the absence of other factors, rear the largest families.

We may agree with Professor Gini that cultural and psychological factors are ultimately reducible to neuro-muscular action patterns and as such are biological. It does not follow, however, that modifications or differences in the behavior of organisms with reference to sex or other matters must be attributed to a change in an assumed instinct, or to the exhaustion of the germ plasm. For the action patterns which determine this behavior can quite positively be shown to vary within wide limits according to the cultural environment to which the individual or groups are exposed.

The real difficulty in the author's position is not factual but logical. It springs from an antiquated and monistic notion of causation which is incompatible with science and has indeed been repudiated by the ablest methodologists of science.⁶ The

⁶ See the works of H. Poincaré, K. Pearson, B. Russell, and others. (Poincaré, *The Foundations of Science*, (The Science Press, 1913) Chs. 4, 11. Pearson, *The Grammar of Science*, (Third Ed. Rev. London 1911) Chs. 4, 5. Russell, *Philosophy* (Norton, 1927) Chs. 11, 14). See also P. Sorokin's discussion of the sociology of V. Pareto in *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, pp. 42 ff. Also pp. 527-40. For some purposes, other views of causation are, of course, defensible. (See S. P. Lamprecht, "Causality," in *Essays in Honor of John Dewey*, (Holt, 1929).) Frequently, the question of which factor shall be regarded as a cause is purely a question of which factor may be more conveniently regarded as the independent variable and which as the dependent. This is chiefly a matter of convention, habit, or point of view. Take

notion of a cause as a relationship of one-sided dependence between two or more phenomena has been supplanted by the conception of interaction, interdependence, correlation, and typical probability-expectations.⁷ Heredity is still generally used as a first cause and as such is no more defensible than other metaphysical or theological constructs. This monistic theory of causation is so deeply ingrained in the folk-mind, however, that it still dominates the thinking of the great majority of scientists. In biology, especially is the monistic conception prevalent and all types of end-results, biological, psychological, and cultural, are freely ascribed to heredity or to environment by scores of biologists, not to mention the *intelligentsia* or the population generally.

It is utterly impossible at any given stage of the development of an individual to attempt to attribute any specific part of his neuro-muscular patterns or other characteristics to *inherent* qualities of the germ plasm and others to cultural or other environmental factors.⁸ At any stage of

for example Hankins' conclusion that while "both the nature of the chemical compound or organism and the character of the environing conditions are essential sets of causes, the former has a more fundamental significance than the latter." F. H. Hankins "Organic Plasticity Versus Organic Response," *Social Forces*, Vol. 6, 1928, p. 335.

⁷ Cf. Max Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, 1921-22, p. 14; *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Wissenschaftslehre*, 1922, pp. 420, 444 ff. Cited in Sorokin, *op. cit.* p. 42.

⁸ This relationship in one of its simplest imaginable forms may be expressed by a differential equation of the type

$$f(t) \frac{dy}{dt} + u(t)y = 0$$

where $f(t)$ and $u(t)$ are assumed to be known functions of t . To find the solution $y = F(t)$ of this equation, we must know the value of y at some previous time, say, $t = t_0$, as well as the values of $f(t)$ and $u(t)$ for all times after $t = t_0$. The influence (on the solution) of the value of y at $t = t_0$ will symbolize the influence of heredity. Let the functions $f(t)$ and $u(t)$ symbolize

development the past responses of the protoplasm are an inseparable part of it and determine its capacities as well as its selective responses to new or old stimuli. Except for the habit of thought referred to at the outset, there would be no compulsion to attempt to make this separation. The validity of the above argument is recognized with reference to the development of the organism in the more advanced stages, namely, those in which the process of development has been more carefully studied. At what stage the arbitrary introduction of "original nature" takes place, varies with the scientific sophistication of the individual. To most people birth represents the line of demarcation, though large numbers still feel that the first three or four years of a child's life are also unimportant as affecting "original nature."⁹ The statement that all of a

the influence of environment (which changes with time). At any given time y depends on both these factors, and it would be fallacious to speak of any part of y as being determined by one factor, (y at $t = t_0$) and another part by the other factor ($f(t)$ and $u(t)$). (I am indebted for the above illustration to Dr. N. Rashevsky of the Westinghouse Research Laboratories, Pittsburgh. See also his article "Über einige besondere Fälle von Hysterese-Erscheinungen in physikalisch-chemischen Systemen und über deren mögliche Beziehung zu einigen biologischen Problemen," *Zeitschrift für Physik*, 58 Band 7 und 8 Heft, (1929) p. 539.

⁹ That certain of his subsequent specific behavior is "caused" by heredity and others "caused" by environment is equally generally accepted. When embarrassed by the logic of these positions their proponents fall back upon vague postulates about "innate capacities." Now a capacity in any scientific sense could be postulated only on the basis of the observed responses of a unit of protoplasm to given stimuli. Its capacity, therefore, consists of its response mechanisms at any given time. These mechanisms again are the result of past responses, selection, and general environmental exposures. In short, innate capacities may as logically be postulated at one point of an individual's history as at another. The need for any such postulate simply reflects the barbarian heritage of a need for a monistic "cause" or "begin-

child's characteristics at birth are "due to heredity" would go unchallenged in most scientific circles. The more informed, confronted by the growing mass of data regarding pre-natal conditioning, as well as the logic of the situation, place the line at the point of conception. As far as the attempt to separate the influences of heredity and environment are concerned, there is no better logic in this position than in the less sophisticated one. For the individual at the point of conception has behind him just as truly the selective and conditioning influences of environment as at any subsequent time. The fact that in his later stages he becomes increasingly susceptible to a vastly increased range of environmental influences, notably the psycho-social, in no way changes the fact that the "accidental" combinations of genes is as truly the result of responses to environmental conditions as his subsequent selection of what college to attend.¹⁰

ning." If a term is desired to designate the characteristics of an organism at any particular point in its development in order to regard this place for some purpose as a starting point, there is, I suppose, no objection to the use of the term heredity for this purpose. But the postulation of a beginning may be made as logically at one point as at another—at birth, at the point of conception, at the age of ten, or any other stage. The better method would be to substitute the concept of growth, physiological process, or emergent evolution, and define it in terms of the interaction of two or more complexes of variables of different degrees of stability. The more variable structure and behavior, especially that which we know definitely how to condition, is usually thought of as being environmentally "caused." The variations which are relatively stable and which we do not yet know how to condition or manipulate are called hereditary. So understood and defined the terms may be of some use as blanket designations of the more and less stable characteristics of structure and behavior. Cf. Read Bain, in *Trends in American Sociology*, (Edited by Lundberg, Bain and Anderson, Harper's, 1929) pp. 90, 91.

¹⁰ This is not merely a theoretical and logical assumption, but a fact supported by experimental

This point of view is usually greeted with an avalanche of triumphant questions: What about the chromosomes and the genes? What about Mendel's Laws? And above all, what about the Kallikaks, the Jukes, and a plethora of empirical data on the statistical frequency with which traits have been observed to reappear in successive generations?

These data are, of course, totally irrelevant to the question under discussion.¹¹

data. See *Chemistry in Medicine*, The Chemical Foundation, Inc. New York, 1928. Chapter 2, "Heredity and Development," by Alexander Weinstein, especially pp. 33, 36-42, 65-72. See also H. S. Jennings, *The Biological Basis of Human Nature*, (Norton, 1930) Chapter 5, (especially pp. 122, 145, 209). One of the reasons for the crudeness of current notions of heredity is the elementary conception of the meaning of environment. To most people it means only the geographic and physical surroundings. The sociologists have succeeded in gaining some recognition for the more obvious aspects of social environment. That environmental differences—tactile, electrical, chemical—exist, not only for different cells but even for different parts of the egg before fertilization and that such differences are as truly environmental differences determining the individual as are food, schools, and moral standards is generally overlooked even by informed and conservative scholars who write with much confidence about "similar" and "the same" environments. L. L. Bernard more than any other sociologist has called attention to this uncritical and inadequate conception of environment. See his *Introduction to Social Psychology* (Holt, 1926), Chapter 6. *Instinct*, (Holt, 1924), Chapter 20; and his numerous articles on the subject in the periodical literature.

¹¹ The same is true of the voluminous statistical studies of Galton and others to which so much significance has been attached as bearing on the question of heredity. (E.g. F. H. Hankins "Individual Differences: The Galton-Pearson Approach," *Social Forces*, Vol. 4, 1925, pp. 272-281. In a later article "Organic Plasticity Versus Organic Response," *Social Forces*, Vol. 6, 1928, pp. 333-344, this author takes a much more critical and defensible position.) These studies demonstrate statistically the degree to which a wide variety of traits—physical, mental, and moral—recur in successive generations. The data throw absolutely no light on the *method of*

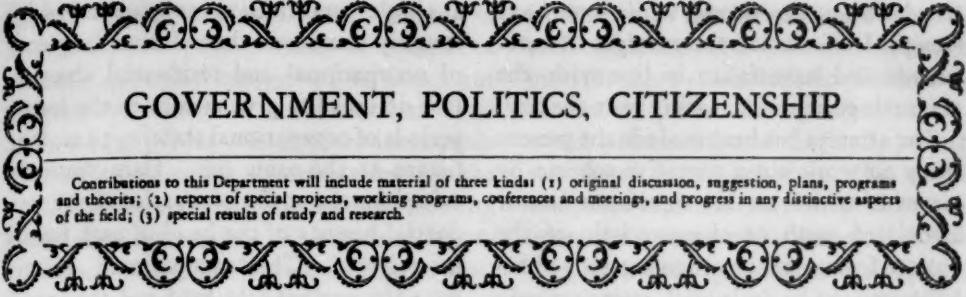
We are concerned here purely with a question of logic, not with a question of fact. It is a question, not of data, but of that

transmission, which is the only question relevant to inquiries into heredity even as defined by believers in this form of *mana*. This position has, of course, nothing to do with questions of individual differences. The existence of such differences at all stages of the development of an organism, as well as their unchangeability by any techniques known at present, is, I think, cheerfully admitted by all informed people. The peculiar thing is that whenever such differences are not clearly traceable to some cultural differential, it is regarded as proof positive that they are "hereditary," "inherent," "innate," in the sense of predetermined, fixed, immutable, "original" causation. To make a similar assumption regarding environment is, of course, equally fallacious. As for the more obviously absurd interpretations of heredity, such as the attempt to attribute a certain percentage of a personality to heredity and a certain percentage to environment, Cooley's comment and conclusion are sufficient: "Nothing that the individual is or does can be ascribed to either alone, because everything is based on habits and experiences in which the two are inextricably mingled. Heredity and environment, as applied to the present life of a human being, are, in fact, abstractions; the real thing is a total organic process not separable into parts. Which is stronger? Which is more important? These are silly questions the asking of which is sufficient proof that the asker has no clear idea of the matter in hand." (C. H. Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order*, Revised Edition, Scribners, 1922, pp. 15, 16.) For a striking recent example of the type of assumptions here criticised, see "The Relative Influence of Nature and Nurture upon Mental Development," 27th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Public School Publishing Company, Bloomington, Ill., 1928. This and most of the enormous literature on mental testing are also excellent examples of the erroneous conclusions of statisticians when inadequately acquainted with the nature of their material.

NOTE: Since the present paper went to press, I have received from Professor Gini a letter in which he objects at some length to what he feels is a misinterpretation of his position. His principal objections are as follows: (1) The lectures comprising the book under consideration are of a popular character and hence do not adequately present the theories involved. (2) The heredity *vs.* environment dichotomy is specifically repudiated with references to the author's pronouncements on this subject before the Second Italian Congress of Eugenics. (3) The two postulates to which I refer are altogether incidental and are erroneously interpreted. (4) A number of criticisms of my reasoning are submitted. The validity of my interpretation of the book under review must be left to the reader. To the extent that the author's position in these lectures, as I interpret them, does not represent his actual view as contained in his other and fuller publications, my criticisms do not, of course, apply. There is, however, a large literature to which these criticisms certainly do apply, and it is the general position which I am attacking.—*The Author.*

frame of reference we shall employ in interpreting the data. The Copernican theory of the universe in no way changed the observed facts of astronomy at the time. It will probably not be contended by anyone that the theory therefore was without significance in affecting our practical adjustments to the universe and the future course of investigation. The present discussion of the purely theoretical aspects of the doctrine of heredity, innate characters, and capacities has exactly the same justification. A glance at the voluminous controversial literature about the relative significance of heredity and environment suggests very positive gains from a solution of the problem. Strictly speaking, the problem as at present stated will never be solved. It will be abandoned. For it has no more meaning than the question as to which leg of a three-legged stool is the most important.

It may be possible to demonstrate that the population of nations go through the typical life cycle. Professor Gini's brilliant past, as well as anticipated future, researches will be considered with full appreciation of their scientific interest and significance. Fortunately, the value of these researches will not be determined by the possibility of attributing the observed phenomena to the changing vigor of reproductive instincts. Such explanations will probably encounter the same scientific obstacles as monistic and one-sided theories of causation have always encountered.



GOVERNMENT, POLITICS, CITIZENSHIP

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspects of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

SOME INDICES OF URBANIZATION IN TWO CONNECTICUT RURAL TOWNS

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URBANIZATION as a process of social change is by no means confined to the limits of the city proper. It is a pervasive influence which affects almost all spheres of modern life and thought, and creeps steadily back into remoter country districts. The city has become a culture center sending wave on wave of its own peculiar attitudes, values, and behavior patterns into the environing rural hinterland. The rapid urbanization of large sections of rural America is one of the striking phenomena of recent times.

The problem of discovering and measuring urban modes of behavior in rural communities is arousing increasing interest on the part of students of country life. In a recent Purnell project centering on the mobility and adjustment of the Connecticut rural population which was undertaken by the Department of Sociological Research of the Connecticut Agricultural College, this problem assumed a position of vital importance. Most of the so-called rural sections of the northeast Atlantic seaboard have gone a long way in the direction of urbanization, and this is particularly true of southern New England. Connecticut is a peculiarly favorable area in which to study these developing urban tendencies

because, while lying in the midst of urban cross-currents and responding to the pull of a great *Weltstadt*, it retains the remnants of one of the strongest rural traditions.

The observer quickly finds that all parts of rural Connecticut have been affected by the sociological changes characteristic of the urbanization process, but different communities have been affected to widely different degrees. Moreover, within the same community certain groups are much more susceptible than others to the contagion of urban influences. The New England town in this region is no longer the homogeneous community of former times.¹ While retaining much of its force and independence as a political entity, it has lost most of its cultural unity and social solidarity. Its population consists of diverse ethnic and occupational groups separated in varying degrees by gulfs of social distance, and lacking a common universe of discourse. As one might suspect from the dissimilarity of their cultural backgrounds, the reactions of these groups to the trend of social change show marked divergences. In some the hold of rural folkways and

¹ See J. L. Hypes, *Social Participation in a Rural New England Town*, Columbia University, New York, 1927.

standards remains strong, while some have sloughed off all but the vestiges of rural culture and have fallen in line with the magnetic currents emanating from the city.

The attempt has been made in the present study to work out a tentative scheme by means of which certain significant factors associated with or characteristic of the change from rural to urban patterns of behavior might be dealt with quantitatively and employed as indices of urbanization. From data provided in the schedules of the Purnell project referred to above, five indices were designed for use in the comparative analysis of different communities, or groups living in the same community. These were the mobility index, the home equipment score, organizational membership, ratio of certain services obtained in urban centers to those supplied in the local town and in adjacent villages, and ratio of non-rural newspapers and magazines to farm publications. A brief explanation of each is in order.

Increase in the mobility of the population is a phenomenon that has been frequently remarked as an accompaniment of the metamorphosis of a rural into an urban society. Urban economy is based largely on division of labor and occupational specialization which entail a delicate articulation of functional activities. The result is an unstable equilibrium maintained in part through the incessant occupational shifts of large numbers of workers. Occupational instability is one factor affecting residential instability, for the worker frequently finds it necessary or expedient to live near the job. However, rapid transportation has done much to make the place of residence independent of the place of work, with the result that the restless population of modern urban societies is increasingly free to move hither and thither in the search of an abode less stifled by the city's congestion. The mobility index is

a single quantitative expression which roughly measures the relative frequency of occupational and residential changes. It is designed to give weight to the longer periods of occupational stability; i.e., long tenure at the same job. Data were obtained for the entire occupational and residential history of the head of each family interviewed. The occupational history gave the various jobs held and the length of time spent at each; the residential history gave location and dates for each period of residence in a given place. From these data the mobility index was computed by the following formula:

$$\frac{x^2 + y^2 + \dots n^2}{x + y + \dots n} \text{ times} \frac{100}{X + Y + Z/2 + 1}$$

Where x , y , etc., are the length of the periods (in years) between occupational moves; X is the total of occupational moves; Y is the total of residential moves; Z is the total of supplementary occupations carried on in connection with the main occupations.²

The home equipment score is a device to measure the extent to which rural homes approach the standard of material culture in the equipment of modern urban homes. The schedule covered data concerning ten items based on a list of "minimum essentials" of home equipment which a widely circulated farm magazine has emphasized as necessary if a rural home is to approxi-

² The unit 1 is added to take care of the period before the first move. Squaring the x 's, y 's, etc., gives emphasis to the long periods of stability. Dividing by the total of the periods between moves puts the result in terms of a function of the total years of occupational employment. Taking up a supplementary occupation is treated as one-half an occupational move. The formula as here presented is essentially based on that devised by Dr. John F. Markey in *Storrs Agri. Ex. Sta. Bull.* No. 161. Markey's formula yielded a stability index; here the reciprocal of the latter is taken as a mobility index.

mate urban standards. The list is an arbitrary one, but consists of equipment items generally recognized as important both by students of home economics and by the lay public. Each of the items lends itself to objective determination by the field sociologist without special training in home economics. Thirty rural home-makers who were known to be conspicuously successful in their vocation, and forty college and high school teachers of home economics, consented to evaluate the ten items from the standpoint of their relative importance for the health, convenience, and efficiency of the rural family in the New England region.³ From the averages of these "weighted rank-scores," the following score sheet for assigning a crude quantitative expression to the level of home equipment was devised:

Running water in house (including kitchen pump).....	15
Adequate sewage disposal (including cess pool or septic tank).....	13
Windows and doors screened against flies in summer.....	12
Bath complete (including indoor toilet).....	10
Electric or gas lighting.....	9
Central heating (furnace, or heat supplied from a central plant).....	9
Power for doing heavy house work (vacuum cleaner, mechanical washing machine, etc.).....	9
Telephone.....	8
At least one room for each member of household.....	8
Ice box or mechanical refrigeration.....	7
Total.....	100

The third index, membership in organizations, requires little explanation. Or-

³The method of deriving the home equipment score, and the question of the degree of its reliability, is discussed by the author in an article, "Evaluating Certain Equipment of the Modern Rural Home," in *The Journal of Home Economics*, Vol. XXII (Dec., 1930), No. 2.

ganization of specialized interests and activities is a feature of modern life generally, but it is more characteristic of urban than of rural societies. Every organization to which some member of the family belonged was listed in the schedule. No account was taken of attendance, except that the co-operators interviewed were asked whether they attended regularly, occasionally, or not at all within the past year. Those falling in the last category were thrown out as inactives.

To the extent that rural groups become more and more dependent upon adjacent urban centers to supply retail goods and various socio-economic services, visiting these centers regularly in quest of such services and recreation, it is safe to assume that they become increasingly urbanized. For this reason the co-operators were asked where they went for medical, dental, banking, and legal service; where they bought groceries and clothing; where their children of school age attended elementary and high school; and where members of the family went for holidays, vacations, parties, dances, movies, and other forms of recreation. The ratio of the services obtained in urban centers to those supplied in the local town and surrounding villages, was then calculated. This ratio roughly indicates the "pull" of various urban centers upon the family or community.

The significance of daily newspaper circulation as an index of urbanization has been discussed by Dr. Robert E. Park.⁴ In the present study all newspapers, farm magazines, and general magazines subscribed to or regularly read by each family were listed in the schedule. This permitted a comparison of the amount of the more strictly urban types of reading matter as over against farm publications.

⁴"Urbanization as Measured by Newspaper Circulation," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXV, 60 ff.

The five indices of urbanization having been determined upon, two towns among those intensively surveyed in connection with the Purnell project were selected for comparative analysis.⁵ The town of Cheshire, located within a triangle formed by the urban centers of Meriden, Waterbury, and New Haven, was chosen as representative of the areas of specialized farming that have developed in rural sections of the central manufacturing region of the state. Within its borders is a considerable proportion of soils of a type well suited for agricultural purposes. Enjoying exceptional marketing advantages, its farmers follow an intensive mode of agriculture, specializing along four principal lines: fruit, vegetable, poultry, and dairy farming. In 1925 Cheshire was one of the foremost towns in the state in commercial apple orchards and in vegetable production.⁶ Many of its farmers have developed profitable combinations of the four specialties mentioned above. However, the rural population of the town is by no means confined to farming alone. About 46 per cent of those engaged in farming follow some supplementary occupation of a non-agricultural sort. In addition, its nearness to rapidly growing urban centers, its excellent transportation facilities, and the general attractiveness of its open-country districts, have stimulated an influx of commuters who travel regularly to the cities where they are employed. The heads of approximately 39 per cent of the families living in the open country were found to be commuters.

Killingworth, located in the southern part of the Eastern Highland region of the state, was the second town chosen for analysis. It was selected as being repre-

sentative of the areas of decadent farming that abound in this region and are found in many other sections of New England. Killingworth is less favorably located than Cheshire with respect to urban markets, although hard surface roads connect the town with New Haven, 25 miles to the west, and Middletown, 10 miles to the north. Much of the land, composed of the poorer soil types, is to-day sub-marginal for agricultural purposes. There is little specialized farming, most of the farms being of the general type, with the greater part of the land left in woodland, meadows, and pasture. The field survey revealed the fact that of the 124 farm owners in Killingworth, 82, or 66 per cent, followed some supplementary occupation besides farming. The heads of 32 families, or 26 per cent of all surveyed were commuters. In addition there were 28 farms maintained as summer homes by non-residents, and 37 vacant or abandoned farms.

Some facts concerning the utilization of land and the value of farms in the two towns are shown in Table I. From this table it may be seen that Cheshire has more than three times as large a percentage of improved land in farms, that the average value per farm is more than three times as great, and that the average value of land per acre over four times as great, as in the case of Killingworth.

Like most sections of rural Connecticut, both Cheshire and Killingworth have a relatively large proportion of foreign born inhabitants. The social composition of the population of the two towns according to the 1920 Census is shown in Table II.⁷

As the entire population of Killingworth resides in the open country, and as the total number of families is relatively small,

⁵ In New England the term "town" refers to what in most other parts of the country would be called a township.

⁶ *Storrs Agri. Ex. Sta. Bull.* No. 146.

⁷ The Federal Census does not tabulate by rural towns in the New England region, but through the courtesy of census officials, a special tabulation was made for these towns.

an effort was made to secure data concerning every family. Schedules were obtained from 122 of the 127 families residing

to-house survey. Schedules were obtained from 204 families dwelling in the open country, a random sample that comprised

TABLE I

TOTAL AREA; AREA AND PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL AREA IN FARMS, IN IMPROVED LAND, AND IN WOOD, WASTE, AND IDLE LAND; AVERAGE ACRES PER FARM, AND AVERAGE VALUES PER FARM AND PER ACRE,
FOR THE TOWNS OF CHESHIRE AND KILLINGWORTH*

	TOTAL AREA OF TOWN IN ACRES	AREA IN FARMS		IMPROVED LAND IN FARMS		WOOD, WASTE, AND IDLE LAND	
		Acres	Per cent	Acres	Per cent	Acres	Per cent
Killingworth.....	23,791	13,134	55.3	2,822	11.9	10,657	44.8
Cheshire.....	15,601	12,294	78.5	5,660	36.2	3,307	21.2
AVERAGE ACRES PER FARM		AVERAGE VALUES PER FARM				AVERAGE VALUE OF LAND PER ACRE	
Killingworth.....	87.6	\$2,750		\$1,340		\$16.00	
Cheshire.....	63.8	8,900		4,410		70.10	

* *Storrs Agri. Ex. Sta. Bull.* No. 127, Appendix, Tables 1-3.

TABLE II

COMPOSITION AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION OF THE TOWNS OF CHESHIRE AND KILLINGWORTH, 1920

	CHESHIRE			KILLINGWORTH		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
<i>Numbers:</i>						
Native white native parentage.....	730	668	1,398	72	67	139
Native white foreign parentage.....	383	276	659	95	76	171
Native white mixed parentage.....	149	98	247	18	18	36
Foreign white.....	286	202	488	94	89	183
Negro.....	49	14	63	1	1	2
Total.....	1,597	1,258	2,855	280	251	531
<i>Per cent of total population of town:</i>						
Native white native parentage.....	25.6	23.4	49.0	13.5	12.6	26.1
Native white foreign parentage.....	13.4	9.7	23.1	17.9	14.3	32.2
Native white mixed parentage.....	5.2	3.4	8.6	3.4	3.4	6.8
Foreign white.....	10.0	7.1	17.1	17.7	16.8	34.5
Negro.....	1.7	0.5	2.2	0.2	0.2	0.4
Total.....	55.9	44.1	100.0	52.7	47.3	100.0

permanently in the town. The town of Cheshire contains a village of considerable size which was not included in the house-

more than half of all the open-country families. The method of personal interviews was employed in collecting the data

in both towns, each family being visited by a field worker. From the schedules thus secured, relevant data were then utilized in computing the indices of urbanization herewith presented.

Table III presents the summary of these indices for the two towns as a whole. The arithmetic mean of the mobility indices of all coöperators is 14.42 for Cheshire and 13.93 for Killingworth, the standard deviations from these means being 7.6 and 7.1 respectively. The difference between these

equipment maintained in urban middle-class homes. With respect to organizational membership, Cheshire families belong to an average of 2.48 organizations as against 1.67 for the Killingworth families, the standard deviations being 1.71 in the former and 1.54 in the latter case. The ratio of certain services obtained in urban centers as against those supplied in the local town and adjacent villages likewise reveals a sharp contrast. For every service supplied in the latter areas, the

TABLE III
COMPARISON OF FIVE INDICES OF URBANIZATION FOR ALL FAMILIES SURVEYED IN THE TOWNS OF CHESHIRE AND KILLINGWORTH

	AVERAGE MOBILITY INDEX	AVERAGE HOME EQUIPMENT SCORE	AVERAGE NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONS PER FAMILY	RATIO OF URBAN SERVICES	RATIO OF NON-RURAL PERIODICALS
Cheshire.....	14.4	65.4	2.48	2.34	2.57
Killingworth.....	13.9	36.6	1.67	0.43	1.40

TABLE IV
COMPARISON OF FIVE INDICES OF URBANIZATION FOR NATIVE AND FOREIGN BORN IN THE TOWNS OF CHESHIRE AND KILLINGWORTH

	AVERAGE MOBILITY INDEX		AVERAGE HOME EQUIPMENT SCORE		AVERAGE NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONS		RATIO OF URBAN SERVICES		RATIO OF NON-RURAL PERIODICALS	
	Native	Foreign born	Native	Foreign born	Native	Foreign born	Native	Foreign born	Native	Foreign born
Cheshire.....	14.2	15.0	70.6	53.7	2.70	1.97	2.65	1.80	2.32	2.18
Killingworth.....	12.0	15.9	43.3	29.7	2.06	1.27	0.52	0.46	1.35	1.53

means is too slight to be decisive, but greater significance appears when the analysis is extended to specific groups. The difference in the means of the home equipment scores for the two towns is much more striking, that for Cheshire being 65.38 as compared with 36.63 for Killingworth. Here the standard deviations are high, being 29.8 for the former and 25.8 for the latter. The far higher average for Cheshire means that the rural homes in that town come much nearer than those of Killingworth to the standard of material

Cheshire families go to the surrounding urban centers for an average of 2.34 services, the Killingworth families for an average of only 0.43 services. The fact that Cheshire village has a bank, two doctors, a dentist, several chain stores, and other service facilities lacking in the town of Killingworth, makes this difference the more interesting.⁸

⁸ Eighty-one per cent of the Killingworth co-operators reported that they patronized mail order houses, as agains only 58 per cent of the Cheshire co-operators.

Another useful comparison from the standpoint of urbanization is that afforded by the ratios of the average number of non-agricultural newspapers and magazines of all sorts to the average number of farm publications subscribed for by the families of the two towns. In the case of Cheshire this ratio is 2.57:1.00; in that of Killingworth 1.40:1.00. The foregoing results make possible a limited but objective comparison of the degree of "urbanness" of the two rural communities.

Since the New England town of to-day is composed of heterogeneous social elements (scarcely qualifying as a community in the fundamental sense of that word), separate analysis of some of the chief cultural and socio-economic class divisions may prove fruitful. Groupings along ethnic lines are probably the most important from a cultural standpoint. The problems precipitated in the New England region by the presence of large numbers of foreign immigrants of various nationalities are sufficiently well known. In connection with the present study, the question may be asked, Does the foreign born farmer with his typically agrarian cultural background, or the old Yankee farmer with his strong rural tradition, most stoutly resist the trend toward city patterns of behavior? This question cannot be answered satisfactorily without a more detailed analysis than the present data afford,⁹ but the comparison of the five indices in Table IV throws some light on the degree of urbanization of the native and foreign born population of the two towns.

Other things being equal, it was to be expected that the foreign born should have the higher mobility rate, because of the movements entailed by migration to and

settlement in a new country. However, surprisingly little difference appears between foreign and native groups in Cheshire. In Killingworth, where a good many native farmers have, through tradition or sheer inertia, clung to farms obtained through inheritance, the difference is more marked. Over 15 per cent of the native farmers in this town belong to the "retired" category. In both towns the native born lead in home equipment scores, but it is worth noting that the foreign group in Cheshire excels the native group in Killingworth. The lower average organizational membership of the foreign groups is to be explained in part by their virtual exclusion from certain local organizations. However, inasmuch as all the indices except the mobility rates are higher for the native families, it seems safe to conclude that the latter have proceeded somewhat farther in the direction of urban modes of living.

Comparison of the indices of the more numerous foreign nationalities represented reveals some marked differences which may be briefly summarized. The Russians (including several Russian Jews), the Swedes, and the Italians are the most mobile. The English, the Germans, and the Austrians, due no doubt to the fact that they represent an earlier period of immigration and contain more families having a long tenure on the present farms, are far more stable. The Poles and the Bohemians occupy an intermediate position. The English, the Germans, and the Russian Jews lead in home equipment scores, the Italians and Poles falling lowest. The Germans, the English, and the Bohemians were relatively high in organizational membership; the Germans and the Russians in ratio of urban services; and the Italians, the Germans, and the Austrians in ratio of non-rural newspapers and periodicals. These differences in the indices of foreign groups may indicate differences in assimilation as well as dif-

⁹ The native group here considered contains too many of foreign stock and too many non-farmers to permit a fair comparison from this angle. However, it was not found practicable to sort out the "old Yankees" from these others.

ferences in urbanization, but it seems quite likely that acceptance of urban behavior patterns is a part of the assimilation process in this region. The evidence points to the Poles and the Italians as being the groups in which rural folkways and standards have the strongest hold, while the English, the Germans, and the Russian Jews appear to be most highly urbanized.

Another significant classification is that between commuters and those locally employed. The invasion of commuters back into the remoter rural districts has produced sociological effects only less marked than those brought about by foreign immigrations.

A number of marginal cases still remained, such as those of farmers running retail milk routes to the cities, workers on the state highways, and canvassers operating in neighboring towns. These "quasi-commuters" were treated in a separate category. The indices for commuters, local workers, farm hands working away from place of residence, and "quasi-commuters" in the two towns are presented in Table V.

The commuters, naturally enough, are much more inclined toward urban behavior patterns. Although all of the Killingworth commuters and 70 per cent of the

TABLE V
COMPARISON OF FIVE INDICES OF URBANIZATION FOR COMMUTERS, LOCAL WORKERS, FARM HANDS WORKING AWAY FROM PLACE OF RESIDENCE, AND "QUASI-COMMUTERS," IN THE TOWNS OF CHESHIRE AND KILLINGWORTH

	CHESHIRE				KILLINGWORTH			
	Commu- ters	Local workers	Farm hands	Quasi- commu- ters	Commu- ters	Local workers	Farm hands	Quasi- commu- ters
Number in group.....	79	97	12	16	32	58	10	22
Average mobility index.....	16.8	11.4	19.5	17.5	17.1	12.3	13.1	14.4
Average home equipment score.....	70.9	65.2	42.7	63.9	41.2	37.5	23.4	33.7
Average organizations per family.....	2.46	2.63	1.67	1.94	2.19	1.41	0.90	2.32
Ratio of urban services.....	2.74	2.18	2.39	1.72	0.46	0.58	0.36	0.41
Ratio of non-rural periodicals.....	2.97	1.49	2.08	6.43	1.07	1.65	1.31	1.27

tion. The problem of defining a "commuter" presented some difficulty and made a simple two-way classification impractical. For the present study, a commuter was defined as one who travels regularly by some means of rapid transportation from his place of residence to a place of work located at such a distance that the time required for the round trip is not less than twenty minutes. Farmers without supplementary occupations off the farm, and others whose place of employment is in the vicinity of the place of residence, were classed as "local workers." Farm hands who "commute" to the farms where they work were treated as a separate group.

Cheshire commuters are farm owners or operators, most of whom actually do some farming, in the majority of instances they are individuals with city backgrounds who farm only as a side-line. The extremely high mobility rate of the Cheshire farm hands requires some explanation. Doubtless it is due partly to the exigencies of the semi-casual employment of specialty farming, and partly to the fact that the group includes some young men not yet vocationally adjusted. The quasi-commuters are a rather miscellaneous group, most of them being part-time farmers who have come to depend largely upon incidental employment of a non-agricultural sort in the sur-

rounding villages. Their heterogeneous make-up is likely responsible for the erratic tendencies shown in their indices.

Field observations led to the conclusion that two main classes of commuters exist in the towns. The first class consists of those reared in the country who have been driven by the increasing competition of western agricultural regions, and the resulting decline of earnings on the less favorably situated local farms, to supplement their income by work in near-by cities. The second class is composed of city-bred families who have sought the amenities of a rural home while maintaining their oc-

The measurement of the relationships between certain of the indices themselves, and between them and other variables, such as gross income or years of schooling, for which data were provided, yields conclusions of some significance. High mobility has sometimes been interpreted as inimical to maintenance of membership in organizations, but the coefficients of correlation between the mobility indices and organizational membership are only +.136 (P.E. .060) for Killingworth and -.151 (P.E. .046) for Cheshire. This suggests that the rural family in highly urbanized sections has become adjusted to frequent

TABLE VI

COMPARISON OF FIVE INDICES OF URBANIZATION FOR FARM-BOY COMMUTERS AND CITY-BOY COMMUTERS IN THE TOWNS OF CHESHIRE AND KILLINGWORTH

	CHESHIRE		KILLINGWORTH	
	Farm-boy commuters	City-boy commuters	Farm-boy commuters	City-boy commuters
Number in group.....	19	60	15	17
Average mobility index.....	13.6	17.8	13.0	20.6
Average home equipment score.....	60.3	73.0	32.5	48.8
Average number of organizations per family.....	2.58	2.47	2.13	2.12
Ratio of urban services.....	1.84	2.95	0.33	0.59
Ratio of non-rural publications.....	4.00	3.56	0.89	1.29

cupational connections with the city. The first class is more highly represented in Killingworth, which may account for the unexpectedly low ratios of urban services and non-rural publications shown by commuters in that town. In order to mark off these classes for further analysis, commuters were divided into two groups, the first of which consisted of those who had been farm boys, the second, those who had been city boys. Table VI presents the indices for these two groups. The city-boy commuters appear to be decidedly more urbanized in their traits than the farm-boy commuters, judging from these measurements.

moves, and succeeds in making them without seriously displacing its organizational affiliations. Similarly, the Pearsonian coefficients for mobility indices and home equipment scores in the two towns indicate that little if any relationship exists. The r 's are $-.035$ (P.E. .047) and $+.208$ (P.E. .059) for Cheshire and Killingworth, respectively. That high mobility is not confined to low income groups of the "rolling stone" sort is demonstrated by the fact that no relationship is found between the mobility indices and total family income. The r for Cheshire is $-.065$ (P.E. .056); for Killingworth, $+.095$ (P.E. .067). Apparently mobility, whatever the problems

it entails for community organization, is a normal phase of life in areas dominated by urban centers, and is not necessarily associated with maladjustment or disorganization.

Between home equipment scores and total income, there is a correlation of +.552 (P.E. .047) in Killingworth and +.446 (P.E. .045) in Cheshire. Also a positive relationship was found to exist between home equipment scores and the years of schooling of the head of the family, the r 's being +.322 (P.E. .055) and +.478 (P.E. .036) for Killingworth and Cheshire, respectively. These facts point to the fairly obvious conclusion that both income and schooling are important factors in raising the level of rural home equipment to an approximation of urban standards. In Killingworth, where few community facilities such as electric power, water, and sewage systems, etc., are available, income

appears to be a more important factor than schooling in improving home equipment, due to the fact, no doubt, that a heavier cost falls on the individual family.

More refined methods of measurement will be necessary before one can say with precision that a particular rural community or group has reached a definite degree of urbanization. Nevertheless, it appears entirely feasible to express in quantitative form indices embodying significant characteristics of the urbanization process which may serve to facilitate objective comparisons of rural communities or intra-community groups within the zones of urban dominance. With the perfection of such devices, it may become possible to forecast with a reasonable degree of probability the rate and trend of urbanization in such communities, an achievement that would prove advantageous for social programization.

A LOCAL CYCLE IN POLITICS

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IN THE return of a certain ex-governor of Georgia to the field of active politics, and in the campaign which he recently waged for a seat in the United States Senate, there were two factors that deserve the critical attention of all persons interested in the social and political advancement of the South. The first of these factors was the revealing light which the contest threw on the status of politics in Georgia, especially as regards the race issue. The second, perhaps not less important in some ways than the other, was the new insight which was given into the character of the ex-governor himself, who, some fifteen years ago, because of his action in the famous Frank case, was hailed

throughout the nation as a hero of the first order, and who since that time has occupied a somewhat obscure but none the less genuine position as a martyr to the cause of justice.

The case in question, which lasted from 1913 to 1915, the years of the ex-governor's administration, was one admirably devised to arouse all the worst passions in a community. Leo Frank, a Jew of the employing class, was charged with victimizing and murdering in circumstances of ferocious brutality a young woman by the name of Mary Phagan, who worked under Frank's supervision in an Atlanta factory. The murder was exploited to the full by newspapers, which found in it an oppor-

tunity to multiply their circulation, and by political opportunists, who seized on it as a means of swaying popular emotions. Notable among these politicians was the redoubtable Tom Watson, who, in his denunciation of Frank, ran the not impossible gamut from anti-Semitism, through working class prejudice, to southern chivalry. The mob spirit, thus inflamed, so dominated the whole course of the trial that Frank, convicted on indubitably flimsy evidence, was sentenced to death. All possible appeals were made in vain until the case reached the governor, who took his own life in his hands and commuted the sentence to life imprisonment.

Immediately the mob turned on a new victim. One of the earliest memories of a generation that has just cast its first vote in a senatorial contest is of mobs of infuriated men parading the streets of Atlanta under slogans which, with choice irony, attacked this "King of the Jews and traitor governor of Georgia," and singing their threats of hanging him to a sour apple tree. Up to this time, according to contemporary reports, no American governor had ever been forced to call out troops for protection from his own people; but it took the Governor's Horse Guards, two machine guns, and a regiment of the state militia to beat off the attack on the governor's home. Even the subsequent lynching of Frank did not appease the mob and its leaders. The same forces that had threatened the governor's life now drove him out of politics and finally hounded him out of the state.

If, however, the governor's action was not its own sufficient reward, the enthusiastic approval of the progressive and liberal press throughout the country should have been to some extent inspiring. In the *Forum* of December, 1916, a "public man of Georgia" stated that in all his experience and in all his reading he had never known of "a more sublimely courageous

act" than that of the governor in refusing to permit Frank to be hanged. "He performed a service for government for liberty, for humanity—despite the fact that Frank was finally put to death by a mob—of incalculable value." Then, referring to the governor as a living martyr, he continued, "Those who evinced so much interest in Frank alive, apparently lost all interest in truth with Frank dead. The man who stood between the law and the mob is allowed to eat his heart away in the 'political obscurity' which he predicted would be his reward."

The *New Republic* of July 24, 1915, said that, leaving out the governor, "who risked his future and his life to uphold a civilization better than Georgia has yet attained, the treatment of Frank was one prolonged lynching." The *Nation* of August 26, 1915, expressed its approval of the governor's action, and the *Outlook* of June, 1915, first declared that, "Few governors have rendered a service more bravely"; and then went on to express its faith that the governor would receive from the people of Georgia "not a penalty, but a reward—a reward of confidence and gratitude."

If the reward of confidence and gratitude thus predicted was somewhat tardy in arriving, and if the governor, grown impatient in his "political obscurity," was at length compelled to seek the reward on his own behalf, it does not necessarily follow that his candidacy was fated to be an unwelcome one. As a matter of fact, many of those who had once shouted so loudly the charges of bribery and betrayal of trust were now prepared to receive the governor back into favor. Tom Watson was very adequately dead, and Tom Hardwick, who had been an ally of Watson in the post-war anti-Wilson campaign, and who had himself served as governor and as senator, was sponsoring the governor's candidacy.

All of this is as it should be, constituting

as it does a just retribution. But it is not all of the story. Tom Hardwick, whose political history must in all conservatism be described as checkered, and who combines with an undoubted ability and courage entirely too many of the characteristics of the typical southern demagogue, seems not merely to have supported the governor, but even to have dominated him. At any rate, Tom Watson himself, while he might have issued a more vigorous statement, could not have issued a more reactionary one, or one more accurately calculated to appeal to the lowest elements of the voting public, than that which the governor first gave to the press on Sunday, June 8, and the main items of which he afterwards reiterated with increasing warmth of emphasis.

The statement may be considered in three different parts. In one of these, the governor, whose considerable wealth has perhaps been responsible for the stringent economy which he has always professed and practiced in the collection and expenditure of tax money, objects in typical fashion to the extensive building program of the national government. In another the anti-Wilsonian background of his campaign is shown by his attack on the League of Nations and the World Court, an attack which he couches in the familiar language of George Washington and William Randolph Hearst. However central these two articles of the governor's political faith may be, they are of much less value in indicating the nature of his candidacy and the unhealthy political situation which prevails in Georgia and the South than the third, which constitutes an attempt to force into the campaign the very much bedraggled but ever potent bogey of racial hatred, on the evident assumption that the candidate who can cast even the most remote shadow of suspicion on his opponent's loyalty to the whole doctrine of white

supremacy is assured election. In reference to the Parker case, the governor charges Senator W. J. Harris, the incumbent with having voted against a southern champion of white supremacy simply to win the support of organized labor. "In his effort to please a group of our voters," the statement reads, "he has struck a deadly blow at the cause of white supremacy and has helped to establish a dangerous precedent. If only the southern white men are to be appointed to the federal bench who do not believe in white supremacy, when will a decent southern man ever again be appointed to any federal bench?" And in this and subsequent statements he deplores the victory thus yielded to the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People, the "offensive organization that presented and pressed this objection, the most vicious type of northern Negroes, the worst enemies of our southern Negroes as well as of our southern white people."

On the day after the first statement appeared, the labor forces in Georgia sprang promptly to the defense of Senator Harris, and rebuked the governor with the statement that, "The racial question injected into the campaign was merely a subterfuge to becloud the real issue." At the same time they reminded him that he was in a position somewhat too delicate himself to undertake the task of impeaching other people's motives. Senator Harris in his own defense retaliated by pointing out the various items in his record which prove with discouraging conclusiveness that he is not to be numbered among the partisans of the Negro and by submitting arguments and data purposed to show that even the governor has not always been the plumed knight of white supremacy which now he assumed to be his proper rôle. In a statement issued to the press on July 12 we find Mr. Harris referring

to some of the governor's past actions. Since he "continues to discuss the Negro question, which had no place in this campaign, why does he decline to give his reason for voting against the disfranchisement of the Negro? Why does he decline to say whether he approved of Senator Watson and myself defeating the Negro Henry Lincoln Johnson for Recorder of Deeds, where many white girls would have been under him? Why. . . . decline to say whether he approves the order I issued in the Census Bureau separating the Negro men and white women?"

The explanation of these exchanges is not to be found in any dearth of issues. Senator Harris was assiduous in calling attention to matters which deserved consideration, and even the governor saw fit in passing to add to his original tally of complaints, his most notable addition being a bitter denunciation of Senator Harris for his failure to vote against the child labor amendment to the constitution, an amendment which, according to the governor, was "the most destructive blow that was ever aimed at family life in the history of an English country." Such an explanation, if it is to be found, must be sought deep down in racial antipathies which are themselves deep-rooted in the South, and which are a temptation too alluring to be resisted by ordinary political ambition. For the purposes of this writing we must be content with only the most casual glance at a spectacle, far from uncommon in southern politics, of two candidates in a contest for office each of whom, albeit one somewhat unwillingly, bases his hope of

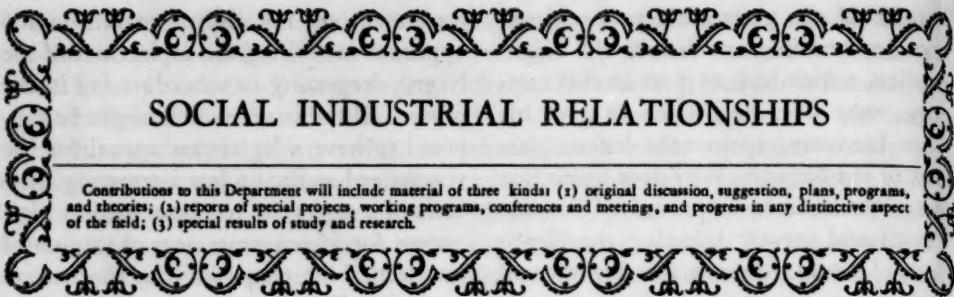
preferment on his ability to out-do his opponent in reviling the aspirations of the Negro, forgetting or subordinating in the process all the issues which might be supposed to have a legitimate appeal for the voters; and at the no less interesting spectacle of a man who has been held in high esteem for fifteen years as a champion of intellectual integrity forfeiting that esteem by basing his campaign on the one issue which above all others will brand him as charlatan and demagogue, the one issue which has done more to degrade southern politics than any other single factor or all the others put together.

The governor had learned the lesson of mob prejudice and mob power, and he made his choice. On the workings of his mind it is interesting but futile to speculate. That even so pragmatic a strategy was destined to prove unavailing, however, might have been deduced from the strength of Senator Harris. When the governor received considerably less than one-fourth of the votes cast and carried only one county out of 161, the result was not unexpected.

Perhaps it is just as well that a man who promised "sterner, stronger service," and who, while supposedly he retained the boasted courage of his convictions, succeeded in developing such unfortunate convictions to have the courage of, should slip back into a comfortable oblivion, albeit with the halo of his original martyrdom a little bent and tarnished. Ex-governor, ex-martyr, ex-hero, long politically dead, now—*Requiescat in pace!*

ERRATUM

In the translation of Professor Arnošt Bláha's article on "Contemporary Sociology in Czechoslovakia" (SOCIAL FORCES, December, 1930), "The author of the present study" should be substituted for "Beneš" on page 177, in the paragraph beginning "Beneš bears the mark of critical realism. . . ."



SOCIAL INDUSTRIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

AN APPRAISAL OF THE WAGNER UNEMPLOYMENT ACT

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SENATOR WAGNER, the junior senator from New York, is the author of Senate Bill 3061, which is now a law. This act amends section 4 of the act creating a United States department of Labor, (approved March 4, 1913) by stating that:

"The Bureau of Labor Statistics shall also collect, collate, report, and publish at least once each month full and complete statistics of the volume of and changes in employment, as indicated by the number of persons employed, the total wages paid, and the total hours of employment, in the following industries and their principal branches: (1) Manufacturing; (2) mining, quarrying, and crude petroleum production; (3) building construction; (4) agriculture and lumbering; (5) transportation and communication; (6) the retail and wholesale trades; and such other industries as the Secretary of Labor may deem it in the public interest to include. Such statistics shall be reported for all such industries and their principal branches throughout the United States and also by States and/or Federal reserve districts and by such smaller geographical subdivisions as the said Secretary may from time to time prescribe. The said Secretary is authorized to arrange with any Federal, State, or municipal bureau or other governmental agency for the collection of such statistics in such manner as he may deem satisfactory, and may assign special agents of the Department of Labor to any such bureau or agency to assist in such collection."

Heretofore we have not had any statistics of unemployment that were worthy of

the name.¹ In 1889 and 1899 the Bureau of the Census collected and tabulated some information on unemployment; but it was of very doubtful value. The census enumerators were instructed to enquire concerning the unemployment situation in each household examined. The accuracy of the answers to these queries depended to a considerable extent upon the ability to remember and the conscientiousness of those who answered these questions. It also depended upon the nature of the instructions given the enumerators, and the efficiency with which they carried them out. The memory of each individual examined was relied upon to the extent that he was expected to report accurately to the enumerator the number of months he had been unemployed during the year preceding the census year. It is hardly to be expected that the average person, even though he did his best to be conscientious, was able to give anything like a precise account of his past year's unemployment. In order to properly guide and interpret

¹ The American Federation of Labor publishes unemployment statistics in the *Monthly Survey of Business*. While these figures may throw considerable light on the situation in the union trades, they are not representative enough to be utilized in a study of the whole labor situation.

the answers to their questions the enumerators would have had to have made use of a great deal more statistical training than it was the privilege of most of them to possess. For example, they would have had to be able to make such distinctions as that between "the unemployable" and the "unemployed." It is also interesting to note that the census schedules did not require the enumerators to report an individual as having been unemployed when he had been out of work for less than one month.

It can truthfully be said that these censuses of 1890 and 1900 provided very little information on the unemployment situation. However, at least the figures contained on the schedules were tabulated, which was not the case in 1910. The unemployment figures for 1909 were not published in the census of 1910 because the Bureau of the Census did not have sufficient funds; and Congress did not consider that the value of the information merited an additional census appropriation to cover the deficit.

The 1930 unemployment census will be an improvement over the preceding census. More definite questions were asked which were of such a nature as not to place too great a strain on the memories of those who answered. The population schedule in column 18 called for the question:

"Were you at work yesterday, or on your last regular working day?"

If the enumerator received the answer "no," he was instructed to fill in the regular unemployment schedule. Column 5 of this schedule required the question:

"Do you usually work at a gainful occupation?"

If the answer was "yes," the enumerator was instructed to continue to fill out the unemployment schedule. Next, the

enumerator enquired in order to fill out column 6:

"Have you a job of any kind?"

The remainder of the schedule was divided into two parts entitled:

1. "If this person has a job."
2. "If this person has no job of any kind."

In order to fill in the former section the enumerator had to ask the following questions:

1. "How many weeks is it since you have worked on that job?"
2. "Why were you not at work yesterday, or on your last regular working day?"
3. "Did you lose a day's pay by not being at work?"
4. "How many days did you work last week?"
5. "How many days are there in your full time work week?"

In order to fill out the latter section it was necessary for the enumerator to ask the following questions:

1. "Are you able to work?"
2. "Are you looking for a job?"
3. "How many weeks have you been without a job?"
4. "Why are you out of a job?"

Even an ideal unemployment census (presupposing highly trained enumerators, the best schedules and methods of tabulation, and a public trained to the value of social statistics) could hardly be of much social use.² Very soon the information contained therein becomes antiquated and can be of little use except to give an air of authenticity to the more or less elaborate guesses

² It must be admitted, of course, that these estimates, if made by scholars trained in the fields of economics and statistics, and based upon the last census, are better than *pure guesses* based upon current gossip and hearsay. The author, therefore, does not wish to criticise the Bureau of census for its valiant attempt to improve an impossible situation.

about the unemployment situation in the years following each census enumeration period.

Before the passage of S.3061, the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics appears to have done all that it could to give the public some idea of the extent of unemployment. In 1915, with the assistance of the Bureau of Immigration and the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, it made several surveys of the unemployment situation in a number of the larger cities in the United States. Bulletins No. 172, *Unemployment in New York City*; and No. 195, *Unemployment in the United States*, published by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics contain the results of these studies. It can not be said that these studies present an accurate analysis of the unemployment situation in 1915. In the first place, this information only covered 29 of the large cities in the United States.³ This sample can hardly be considered as representative of the extent of unemployment all over the United States. Second, only those who were unemployed at the time the survey was made were tabulated. That means that the Bureau of Labor Statistics failed to present us with a picture of the unemployment situation in the 29 cities investigated for the whole year. Third, the survey tells us nothing about unemployment in the various industries.⁴ Even if these studies had proven to be fruitful, they would have thrown but little light on the extent and nature of unemployment in the years following 1915. Any scientific program for the study of unemployment statistics must provide machinery for a continuous study of this tragic drama. It does not suffice to raise the curtain occasionally. For the clews concerning the

³ With the exception of Springfield, Missouri. Springfield is a small city.

⁴ See *Real Wages in the United States* by Paul H. Douglas, pp. 413-414.

nature of the drama so furnished are apt to be as deceptive as they are enlightening.

For some time before the enactment of S.3061 the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics has been publishing statistics of employment. These figures are based upon reports made by individual manufacturing plants and State Departments of Labor. The number of establishments studied had grown from 258 to 34,875, and the industries considered from 5 to 8.⁵ Nevertheless these figures had proven to be unsatisfactory even to the commissioner of Labor Statistics.⁶ The chief objections raised were: (1) The data emphasized unduly the manufacturing industries and railroad transportation. (2) The statistics of employment in the reporting industries alone do not give us accurate information about unemployment. (3) The mere enumeration of the number of persons on the payroll of a given plant on a given date is apt to give the reader an incorrect impression of the employment situation in that plant. (4) Only the large industries are able to bear the expense of collecting and tabulating the desired information.

The enactment of S.3061 will probably improve the situation considerably; but it must not be supposed that there is not still much to be done if the public is to be presented with an accurate picture of unemployment. First, we should note that the efficiency of this new law will largely depend upon the appropriations for the administration furnished by congress.⁷ It is now incumbent upon the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics to secure employment reports from three new industries,

⁵ See "The Dependability and Meaning of Unemployment and Employment Statistics in the United States," by Royal Meeker, *Harvard Business Review*, July 1930, pp. 395-396.

⁶ See Senate Resolution 219, p. 187.

⁷ The reader will observe that the bill itself says nothing about the matter of appropriations.

namely, agriculture, lumbering, and crude petroleum.⁸ The value of this new work will depend upon the number and size of the samples that can be studied by the bureau. If too small a sample is used as a basis for the figures published, they are apt to be misleading rather than enlightening, and the money spent in obtaining them will be wasted. It may be said therefore, that one of the important defects in this new law is its failure to provide for a minimum appropriation of at least enough money to enable the Bureau to throw some new light on the employment situation.

Under the terms of the new law the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics will still study *employment* rather than *unemployment*. If the figures report a shrinkage in the "man-hours" worked in certain industries we can not assume that there is anything like a proportionate increase in unemployment. Scholars and pseudo-scholars, however, will probably continue to mislead the public by making this unwarranted assumption.⁹

Under the terms of the new law the Bureau of Labor Statistics will ascertain each month the man-hours worked in each industry examined. This is a distinct step in advance of the old method; for it will permit part-time employment to influence the formulation of the Bureau's index of employment. This will result in a more accurate picture of employment and, if

⁸ It had already been the policy of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics before the passage of S.3061, to enlarge the numbers of industries as fast as funds would permit. For example, in 1928 the bureau added public utilities and trade to its list of reporting industries.

⁹ Labor commissioner Ethelbert Stewart believes that a fairly accurate current index of unemployment could be made by combining the U. S. Bureau of Labor statistics with the 1930 unemployment census. See Senate Resolution 219, P. 180. The biennial census of employment conducted by the Bureau of Census, should be of use in the construction of this index.

these figures are combined with the census figures on unemployment in order to construct an approximate current unemployment index, will give us a better understanding of the extent of the unemployment problem.

In general it may be said that the enactment of S.3061 has pointed the way toward a better understanding of our unemployment problem. This is not due so much to the specific provisions in the bill as it is to the fact that Congress, having passed the bill, will probably feel called upon to vote at least a fairly substantial increase in the annual appropriation for the Bureau of Labor Statistics.¹⁰

Perhaps the future will bring laws which will enable the government to make frequent direct studies of *unemployment* so that its figures will no longer be approximations arrived at through the combination of monthly *employment* and decennial unemployment statistics.

Whatever may be its general merits as a method of dealing with unemployment, it seems certain that a compulsory Federal Unemployment Insurance act linked up with a system of National Unemployment exchanges¹¹ would make possible the publication of more accurate current unemployment statistics than could be obtained in any other way. In order to prevent malingering, an unemployment insurance act would have to specify that the benefits be paid through the unemployment offices. This would compel all those unemployed to report their situation at the nearest employment office where it would be made a matter of record.

¹⁰ If the world disarmament program continues to develop, it is hard to think of a better place to put the funds so released than in the study and alleviation of unemployment.

¹¹ A bill to provide for a national employment system, also introduced by Senator Wagner, was on the house calendar when Congress adjourned on July 3, 1930.

LIBRARY AND WORKSHOP

Special Book Reviews by L. L. BERNARD, ERNEST R. GROVES, HARRY ELMER BARNES, FRANK H. HANKINS, CLARK WISSELL, PHILLIPS BRADLEY, FLOYD N. HOUSE, MALCOLM WILLEY, AND OTHERS

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THE SOUTH GOES TO THE BINDERY

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INDUSTRIAL VILLAGE CHURCHES. By Edmund deS. Brunner. New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1930. 193 pp. \$1.50.

SOLDIERS OF PROGRESS AND INDUSTRY. By John R. Hornady. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1930. 243 pp. \$3.00.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN THE SOUTH. By Broadus Mitchell and George Sinclair Mitchell. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1930. 298 pp. \$2.75.

I GO SOUTH. By Harry Shumway. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1930. 90 pp. \$2.00.

LEAVE ME WITH A SMILE. By Elliot White Springs. New York: Doubleday, Doran Company, 1928. 288 pp. \$2.50.

STRIKE! By Mary Heaton Vorse. New York: Horace Liveright, 1930. 376 pp. \$2.00.

Books about the South by southerners and non-southerners are becoming so numerous that even the most professional southerner can hardly keep up with them all. Certainly they are too varied in subject and attitude for any professional southerner to be sympathetic with them all. They range from chatty memoirs like Bishop Cheshire's *Nonnulla* to serious history, like Bowers's *Tragic Era*; from a study of a few microcosms, as MacDonald's *Cotton Mill Hills*, to a masterly analysis of the history, the society, and the state of mind that is the South like Odum's *An American Epoch*; from propaganda like Shumway's *I Go South*, to protests like *I'll Take My Stand* by twelve southerners; from one-man studies like Murchison's *King Cotton Is Sick*, to cooperative investigation like the University of Virginia Institutes's *Labor in the Industrial South* and Brunner's *Industrial Village Churches*; from novels like Ethel Thomas' *Better Way* to Mary Heaton Vorse's *Strike*.

It is natural that much of this outburst of writing should deal with the industrialization of the South. That has been the

phase of southern life and economy that has caused both the spectacular changes and the quiet, deeper modifications of the whole life of a people. The six books listed above deal in one way or another with these industrial changes. That is their only common trait, for in method and value, in subject and object they are as varied as any chance sample could well be. In that respect they are a typical cross section of the rapidly growing literature on the South.

The first on the list is not limited to the South, a fact which adds to its value, as will be noted later. While the book only claims to be a study of industrial village churches, it covers much more, in order to give the entire setting in which the church works. Its chapters on school, social life, and economic conditions are quite as valuable as those on the church. Economic conditions in the industrial village make for poor support and poor equipment; labor turnover, actual or possible, makes for impermanence of leaders and program; employer control, actual or potential, makes for weakened leadership and lack of confidence. All these things, the investigators found, make for a weakened church. But perhaps more important is the fact that the church, singly or by great denominations, has not found out the needs of the industrial village church as opposed to the town or city church, on the one hand, and the rural church, on the other.

The study is partly descriptive, partly a summary of many illuminating incidents and comments, and partly statistical. On some topics this last method is valuable and convincing; on others, it is doubtful if so small a sample warrants too much dependence. For example, with only sixty-nine

villages, containing 157 churches, scattered all over the United States, it is doubtful if the sections can be compared on a percentage basis in regard to mission study classes, organized men's clubs, etc. This sort of thing would vary so much with the current minister that a larger sample would be needed.

Dr. Brummer and his associates are calm and fair and thorough. They show understanding and sympathy, not simply condemning, but seeking to understand. It is very valuable to have the southern villages compared with those in other parts of the country. Critics of the southern mill village might well read this book to learn that many of the conditions they assume to be peculiar to the cotton mill village exist in other parts of the country. Indeed, judging from the flood of material in the public prints during the last few years, one would almost suppose they need to be informed that industrial villages under company control exist outside the South.

On the other hand, the mill owner, the mill welfare worker, and the complacent southern public might well read it to see some of the social and economic weaknesses of the mill village analyzed in a calm fashion. They might see how other industrial villages manage to get along without some of these ills; perhaps they might even see that there are ills in the southern village.

Soldiers of Progress and Industry is somewhat more of a biography than anything else—a sketchy biography of William Patrick Lay and of the Alabama Power Company, which was so largely his achievement and his life. Mr. Hornaday has a fine appreciation of a dramatic and significant factor in his subject's life, namely, the interest of three generations of Lays in the great Alabama-Coosa River. It held them with a kind of fascination, and they wrought upon it and with it and made it

serve them and their generations, from the flat-boat trader grandfather, to the steam-boat building and navigating son, to the grandson with his dams and turbines, his power lines and his mergers.

We need more biographies of the men who have been building up the industrial and power empire of the South. Unfortunately, in this case the reader has to wade through a lot of platitudinous material—philosophizing about Service and idealizing of the Power Age and glorifying of Big Business—in order to get what would be far better as a straightforward story of the life and work of a member of that magnificent generation who grew up in a day when to live was a feat, and to have a vision was to be great. And Lay was even greater, for he set about making his dream come true. The recent development of Alabama is a startling index of how he and others like him worked to bring their vision so quickly and completely within their grasp. Perhaps a book like this represents a stage through which we must pass here in the South while we adjust ourselves to this new world which men like Lay have helped to create. Some day we may get over our amazement sufficiently to do as good a job of directing and controlling these new powers as Lay's generation did in building them.

The Industrial Revolution in the South is a compilation of the various articles by these two students of the southern textile industry, which have been appearing in magazines and papers for the last decade. The authors have forestalled in their preface most of the criticisms that can be made of their book. There is, as they say, considerable overlapping, since many of the papers deal with the same general problem, which is sketched each time. The repetition is most noticeable in the many quick tracings of the development of the industry and in restatements of its major problems.

There are, as they warn, inconsistencies of judgment, since many of the papers were written out of concrete situations in the progress of the decade and of the industry. This is somewhat accentuated by the arrangement according to topic instead of date of publication.

Finally, as they say, they are not only students but advocates as well. Their disapproval of indefensible features of the southern textile industry is powerful and effective. But one rather feels that, as they lay about them, they are always contrasting the present ills with a past that never was. Certainly in that past houses were poorer, hours longer, work more laborious (until the stretch-out anyhow), the child labor evil infinitely worse, the check system and company stores greater aids to owner control. Certainly, also, we can find many evidences that the older generation of owners, whom they contrast with present hard-boiled business men as having been paternal friends and gentlemen, were often pretty harsh masters. One can find, in this Bible Belt, religious-minded men with long memories, who believe in the second commandment, and they point out that the second and third generations of some neighboring textile pioneering family have lost all their mills. They say it is a judgment on the children of those who ground down a generation of workers for their own profit.

But after all, most of the faults are inherent in the type of book. Even if many of the papers go over the whole situation, each adds its particular analysis and challenge. None can deny that the analysis is sound and the challenge timely. The Mitchells have, through these effectively written articles, caused many a southerner to think. There is, however, one fault they did not list, and that is the title. A lot of occasional articles on the textile in-

dustry in the South is not worthy of the title they have preëmpted.

The best that can be said about Shumway's *I Go South* is that it is perfectly frank about itself. It is made quite clear that the journey and the book emanated from a cotton mill office, even the office of the company described. That serves to reassure some readers, to warn others. It is positively boasted that the writer knew nothing about the South or about cotton mills. Complete ignorance of a subject as a qualification to be bragged about in the blurb is a new approach to the problem of scientific investigation, and is a somewhat heroic measure, even to insure "an absolutely unprejudiced point of view." This ignorance results in the writer presenting many meaningless details which attracted his attention because of their unfamiliarity, like collards and cotton, and side meat and "sir." One of these deserves to be perpetuated. He is describing that southern proletarian delicacy of hog-killing season, "liver, lights and haslet."

But while in this butcher shop I did stumble on something utterly, startlingly novel. I'm trying to forget it. The butcher held up a cluster of what must have been the entire power plant and pumping station of a pig. It was like a Christmas tree upside down. Heart, lungs, liver, and whatever other organs happened to be in the vicinity. It was sold as a complete unit (sentiment, no doubt, prevailed against parting organs that had been pals for life). It would be the main ingredients for a sort of hash. Sixty-five cents took it away.

(Incidentally he discloses high prices in West Point, Georgia. Fifty cents usually "takes it away.")

To be sure these exclamations over commonplaces add, for the southerner at least, a pallid interest to the thin little volume. But if the presentation of such things as any value it may be in the field of natural history, of cultural anthropology, and of comparative folkways, but hardly in the social

and economic problems of the textile industry in the South. I am not doubting that the mills and villages are as good as he presents them. He visited an excellent and progressive group. There are many others like them in the South. But everybody went to a lot of unnecessary trouble: there have been just as accurate descriptions of good mills and bad, North and South, in the books, magazines, and newspapers of the country for well over a century now, and still they flow from pens and press. The reader who refuses to believe anything good of a southern cotton mill when presented from some at least ostensibly disinterested source will hardly accept a piece of frankly labelled propaganda. If cotton mill officials think that any man, and especially a man who knows nothing of the industry or the region, can, after a flying visit to one group of mills in one southern valley, "tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth about the people who grow cotton, and the people who spin and weave it in the South" (and in a 90 page brochure at that!) they are too simple to get far with running mills; if they believe the public will swallow such a method and such a product they are very naïve; if they believe their label will make it accepted, they will do well to remember that neither cotton nor the cotton mill is the monarch it once was.

Strike by Mary Heaton Vorse is based on—indeed *is* an account of—the Gastonia strike. Some of the events at Marion are brought in at the end to make it a more or less complete chronicle of North Carolina's unhappy labor history in 1929 and to provide a dramatic and cataclysmic ending. It is a reportorial story, but it is too much bound by the actual course of events to make a good story and too much bound by its character as a "novel of purpose" to make a good report. There is not half the dramatic interest in this novel that there

was in the daily newspaper accounts of the events.

For one thing, it is cluttered up with facts and exposition. Mrs. Vorse follows closely the daily ups and downs of the strike with its confused side developments, instead of selecting, assembling, and creating as she would be free to do in a wholly fictitious situation. She is almost the research investigator in presenting the life, the rules, the habits of the mill village. This phase of the book approaches a survey or a social-economic study. With the exception of her insistence on young Gastonia mill workers being mountaineers, she is in the main fair and accurate to the point of punctiliousness. She presents facts favorable to the mill as well as unfavorable, though it must be added that some which the mill and the South consider favorable Mrs. Vorse does not. But the very physical task of getting all this exposition into a story is large. The devices she uses are either clumsy, such as having a newspaper man serve as a sort of interlocuter, or unconvincing, as when two life-long mill hands tell each other facts about school opportunities or company housing which they have both known all their lives and know that the other knows.

Partly, no doubt, on account of this preoccupation with the social and economic facts, her characters are mostly puppets, saying things as the string is pulled. Ma Gilfillin, a wiry, tough, humorous, pathetic old woman, is one of the few real people in the book. Even the strike leaders are a rather colorless, indistinguishable lot. If Mrs. Vorse is as accurate about the inside workings of the union as in her other facts, she has given us some valuable insight as to why the strike collapsed so quickly. The leadership was inept and ineffectual, and not in complete unison. Interest quickly fell off and had to be continually whipped up, and Fer Deane was

not the man to do it. He was subject to fits of depression, was too sensitive, and too easily affected by the temper of the crowd before him. Mrs. Vorse *says* that the workers loved him and followed his leadership, but the reader never feels any magnetism in his personality. On this point the whole book is not as convincing as the one moment in the court room when Fred Beal was brought in to trial and his followers saw him for the first time since his arrest.

If Mrs. Vorse was going to follow the Gastonia story so closely, I, for one, wish she had not for the sake of an artistic ending grafted the Marion massacre on to the other story. For instead of a quick martyrdom and apotheosis which she gives the leaders, I would like, to accompany this inside story of the strike, the inside story of how they came to decide to give up the longer martyrdom of imprisonment.

Gastonia, mill owners, and "comfortable people," both the unconcerned and the ruthless, probably do not like this novel. It is pretty hard on them. It is unfair to them in just one respect. The whole community, not merely the police and the mill owners, are portrayed all along as in a frenzy, but the issues that caused the frenzy are not mentioned until page 255, and only incidentally then. Gastonia would not have been in a state of maniacal hatred of the strike leaders if it had not been for the fact that they, apparently with some grounds, thought that the latter were advocating atheism, communism, free love, and social equality with the Negro. It was these red flags that aroused the populace, and not unionism *per se*. There have been unions and strikes

in the South before and since without a whole community going mad, witness Charlotte in 1921, a multitude of strikes in 1929, Danville in 1930 and—I say it with deliberation—even Marion.

Leave Me with a Smile perhaps should be ruled out of the list both on account of publication date and lack of any great inherent value. Its binding of unfinished checked gingham suggests an emphasis on the cotton mill background which the writer forgot to put in his story. It is mostly the smart talk and lurid doings of a war-weary aviator and a sophisticated, disillusioned young woman, and the confused backing and filling of their unhappy love affair. Accordingly, the cotton mill background and episodes are dumped in with a steam shovel, somewhat in a lump, but for all that the writer knows something of what he is writing about. There are some pertinent observations on the relation of the owner's son to the employees he is working beside. In the aloofness, the respect without friendship, this young generation at least has not the open friendliness of patron and protégé, the intimacy of first names we hear so much about. There is appreciation of the social distance between mill and non-mill. There is a portrayal of the contradictions in the character of mill people, their simple dignity, their directness, their keen discernment, and of their shiftiness and their utter shiftlessness.

Now that the South has begun to write and has discovered something of the dramatic in these social and economic changes going on in its midst, we should have many novels growing out of the personal and social conflict which these changes precipitate.

DIFFERENCES, INDIVIDUAL OR SEX?

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MAN AND WOMAN. A STUDY OF SECONDARY AND TERTIARY SEXUAL CHARACTERS. By Havelock Ellis. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1930. vi + 495 pp. \$5.00.

One may reasonably suppose that we have here the definitive edition of a work first published thirty-six years ago. The author tells us that the doctrine to be deduced from this survey of most of the extant knowledge on the subject of the similarities and differences of the sexes is the same as in the first edition; namely, "the entire equivalence of the sexes" or "the sexes are perfectly poised in complete equivalence." These magic phrases are repeated here and there through the work, but even at the end one is not quite clear as to their exact meaning. It is clear that the author means, in part, that one cannot say that the sexes are equal in the sense of identity; also that one can no longer speak of superiority and inferiority in broad general terms. (Nor does his further statement that "the two halves of the race are compensatory in their unlikeness" entirely clarify his earlier phrases. This latter statement is clearly true on the biological level.) But one does not find in the vast array of data dealing with metabolism, periodicity, growth, head, pelvis, motion, the unconscious, the senses, artistic and intelligence abilities and variation any clarification of that term "equivalence." One finds evidences of small and great differences and of likenesses, but by what alchemy differences become equivalences is not shown. If Ellis means by equivalence that the two sexes are of equal value to the race and to social life one could understand him, but that is a sociological conclusion to be reached after an examination of social life in different times and places; it could cer-

tainly not be shown by the kind of material assembled in this volume.

His further conclusion that "the two halves of the race are compensatory in their unlikeness" is obviously true on the reproductive plane. Ellis can extend it to the sociological plane only by inference, since this work does not pretend to an exhaustive examination of sociological data. What evidence he does present shows that, in consequence of differences in reproductive function, the sexes have, in different cultures, worked out a pragmatic division of labor but that such division has varied considerably with time and place. If we admit its broad general validity, it nevertheless does not serve very well as a basic principle from which to resolve the claims of the feminists or the problem of vocations for women. The latter involves the assertion of woman's right to try her hand at anything man does. Ellis, in fact, admits the justice of such assertion and, on account of the wide range of individual variability and the adjustability of human nature, strongly insists in the closing chapter that "The respective fitness of men and of women for any kind of work or any kind of privilege can only be ascertained by actual open experiment; and as the conditions for such experiment are never twice the same, it can never be positively affirmed that anything has been settled once and for all." (p. 481) At the same time he says "Woman's special sphere is the bearing and the rearing of children, with the care of human life in the home. Man's primary sphere remains the exploration of life outside the home, in industry and inventions and the cultivation of the arts. She gives her time to man and to the rearing of his children, while he is inspired by her

to roam abroad, bringing back the bright playthings of his inventions and arts. All that we have found in our long course of investigation is in harmony with this primitive and fundamental distinction between the two main spheres of masculine and feminine activity." (p. 468) Moreover, "When women enter the same fields as men, on the same level and to the same degree, their organic constitution usually unfits them to achieve the same success, or they only achieve it at a greater cost." (p. 468) If there seems to be a certain contradictoriness in these conclusions—as there is in a number of others—one may attribute it to the extreme complexity of the matter and the author's desire to see all aspects with equal clarity.

One need not survey the data, but a few high spots may be noted. He concludes unequivocally for the greater variability of the male with more genius and more abnormality; for man's monopoly of the higher creative powers in art, science and philosophy; if in some respects woman is closer to the child, she nevertheless leads man in those evolutionary changes which have produced the human from the animal; civilized man approaches the female more closely than does the primitive; women show great endurance under low pressures but "men are able to undergo far more prolonged and intense exertion than women;" etc. Though by no means exhaustive and not always accurate, in my opinion, the work is encyclopaedic and of very great utility.

REMAKING THE REGION

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THE MAJOR SOIL DIVISIONS OF THE UNITED STATES.
By Louis A. Wolfanger. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1930. xx + 150 pp. \$2.00.

SOIL: ITS INFLUENCE ON THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By Archer Butler Hulbert. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930. x + 227 pp. \$2.50.

ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY, Second Edition Revised. By R. H. Whitbeck and C. V. Finch. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1930. vii + 565 pp.

ENVIRONMENTAL BASIS OF SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY. By C. C. Huntington and F. A. Carlson. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1929. xxix + 499 pp.

STUDIES IN REGIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND ENVIRONMENT. Edited by Iowerth C. Peate. London: Oxford University Press, 1930. xii + 220 pp.

AMERICA MOVES WEST. By Robert E. Riegel. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1930. x + 595 pp. \$3.50.

WESTWARD: THE ROMANCE OF THE FRONTIER. By E. Douglass Branch. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1930. xii + 617 pp. \$5.00.

THE DAY OF THE CATTLEMAN. By Ernest Staples Osgood. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1929. x + 283 pp. \$3.50.

JOHN MARSH, PIONEER. By George D. Lyman. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930. xii + 393 pp. \$3.50.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FEDERAL PROGRAM OF FLOOD CONTROL ON THE MISSISSIPPI. By Arthur DeWitt Frank. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. 269 pp. \$4.25.

THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY FLOOD DISASTER OF 1927. Official Report of Relief Operations, American National Red Cross, Washington, D. C., 1929. vi + 152 pp.

The emerging concept of the region bids fair to bring unity to all social geography studies just as the development of the concept of culture has synthesized much scattered anthropology. Since the study of the region is itself a synthesis, all is grist that comes to the regionalist's mill. He is right in eternally eschewing the temptations to geographic determinism which so easily beset him, especially if he has been

trained in the earth sciences. The sociologist on the other hand may be equally disposed by his training to the acceptance of a kind of straight line theory of social development. "Geography," says Georges Garrel, and he is right, "is destined to review every sociology that speculates about some sort of abstract man."

If it be true that culture has not evolved in a vacuum, it is equally true that not every culture trait exists as an adjustment to its region. One who after evaluating the physical factors of an area should list all the traits of culture which continue as maladjustments to climate, terrain, etc., would achieve a valuable research. Were all cultures so adapted the geographer would find no significant task in the modern world. The main contention of human geography is often mistaken; it is not that regions and their cultures are perforce adjusted, but that they should be. Indeed the whole implication of city planning, of the *nomenclature* of the Le Play school, and the regional survey of Geddes and Branford is the mutual reconstruction of geography and culture to better accord. The engineering sciences give man an increasing body of technology to this end. In the meantime here is a shelf full of new books that bear on the subject.

I

The cultural landscape lies bound within its frames of soil regions. It is precisely the delimitation and description of such soil areas that Wolfanger has sought to give us for the United States. Here is a little book that records a silent revolution in a young science. Discarding classifications based on geological origins, Wolfanger follows the Russians and Dr. C. F. Marbut of the Bureau of Soils in basing major soil divisions on the properties of the soils themselves. Russian pedologists, lacking major geological divisions, were

faced with definite soil areas in their country. These areas they were able to show were largely due to cumulative effects of varying climatic and vegetation zones on the same geological material. The chapter on geographic interrelations is characterized by scientific moderation and restraint. Social science awaits with interest the further extension of the concept of the pedalfers with their podsol, grayerths, brownerths, red- and yellowerths, ferruginous laterites and pairyerths; and of the pedocals with their blackerths, chestnuterths, brownerths and greyerths to the interpretation of the map of the United States.

Coming from a background of research on the inland pathways of our historic migrations, Hulbert devotes the present volume to the influence of soil areas on American history. Blue grass, pine barrens, corn lands, hickory bottoms, hackberry hummocks, crayfish and buckshot soils pass in varied panorama with reviews of their influence upon pioneer settlement, expansion, and migration. The stabilizing influence of blue grass upon society, the use of rivers and ridges as highways, the fall line as a deadline to the feudal type of tidewater society, the ease of settlement in any area whence cattle could transport themselves to market, the tendency of the Palatinate German to seek soils like those of his native country, and of the Scotch-Irish to shun the dry limestone soils he had learned to distrust in Scotland; all these and many other interesting facts are used to shed light on our history. Topographical, climatic, botanic, and hydrographic factors are given recognition, but Mr. Hulbert fears to have a thesis. The book opens more questions than it answers, and will, no doubt, serve to tantalize the curious into further research in this new field.

II

The economic geographer may align the data of his specialty according to commodities rather than regions just as the social geographer may choose to present his data under the heading of factors or principles. In the revised edition of their *Economic Geography*, Whitbeck and Finch continue to follow both methods. For the United States and Canada this standard text reviews swiftly the major commodities, transportation, and foreign trade; its second half is devoted to the rest of the world treated as political rather than natural regions. This volume and the one by Huntington and Carlson are equally concerned with geographic interrelations and human adjustment to natural environment. The latter authors have chosen to make their text deal with factors, and true to their title they offer here the physical basis for social geography rather than social geography itself. The extent to which a social emphasis marks the work, however, will be shown by such chapter headings as: man's distribution and activities, seasons as geographic influences, weather and man, land utilization, social factors in environment, and the geography of civilization. The book is factual rather than theoretical, argues no causes, and draws freely on sociology. Both volumes possess adequate bibliographies, are well illustrated with charts and illustrations, and appear eminently teachable.

The title, *Studies in Regional Consciousness and Environment*, given the essays presented to H. J. Fleure by his former students in geography and anthropology at the University of Wales, is misleading. One who expects anything in the nature of a regional interpretation of non-material cultures may be so disappointed as to overlook the worth of the volume's contributions. One paper, for instance, traces geographic factors in the French election of 1928, an-

other delimits the culture areas devoted to Spain's various crops, and a third offers a most illuminating analysis of Russia's development in relation to soil, forest, climate, density, and political areas. Most interesting to the sociologist is the innovation in one of the papers of the *sociograph*, a graphic method of presenting the cultural routines of primitive peoples against the background of the seasonal changes in temperature and rainfall. Many other matters of interest to geography will be found in the fifteen valuable essays included in this volume.

III

The American frontier has proved a fruitful meeting place of geography and history. It was a mode in American life by which a region was remade for civilized usage by individual initiative, undirected and undisciplined. If the region was new, the population sparse, the culture crude, the resulting society might be called raw. *America Moves West* and *Westward* accept this premise and paint engrossing pictures of the advancing frontier fringe. Mr. Riegel and Mr. Branch both abandon academic history to show us the life and labor of the pioneer, working, fighting, moving, and settling. What the frontier did to the offshoots of northern Puritan theocracy and southern tidewater aristocracy, they show is equalled only by what the frontier did to America. Here is the forge out of which was fashioned our politics, our democracy, much of our religion as well as our policy toward the exploitation of natural resources. Here is the sociologist's area in transition and here are his occupational types: squatter, frontier farmer, long hunter, Indian trader, Yankee adventurer, river roustabout, stage driver, buffalo hunter, gold prospector, and ranchman. To Mr. Branch the frontier shows the "transcendent importance of small

things and unimportant people." Mr. Branch's publishers have given him more space with intriguing woodcuts, and he has responded with a vivid style and a choice of picturesque incidents. *America Moves West* shows keen discernment of social and economic facts and popularizes in the best style. Both are products of which the new history may well be proud.

In a book notable for its careful documentation, Professor Osgood reconstructs one stage in a definite region of the frontier, the High Plains of Montana and Wyoming, the seat of a modern pastoral culture. In the last frontier grass was king, but a king that ruled at the mercy of scanty rainfall. Here in the boom of the eighties the autocratic range cattle man with his cowboys carved out a new economic domain that commanded the respect of London and New York investors. He lived to see it fall before the onrushing hordes of small farmers demanding homesteads from ranches large as counties. This and much more Osgood tells in this scholarly recreation of a vanished frontier.

If *The Day of the Cattleman* shows a region in transition, *John Marsh* is the case study of a pioneer; if not the first, certainly the most accurate we possess done from the life. Dr. Lyman, San Francisco child specialist, became interested in California's legendary first physician and showed his versatility by writing the biography of an obscure pioneer, absolutely from the sources. It is a life-sized figure, social type but more than type, that bodies forth from these pages. John Marsh blazed his trail on six frontiers, leaving us the picture of an environment moulding a man. This Harvard graduate abandoned his medical course, became an Indian trader, took a beautiful half-breed as common law wife, wrote a dictionary and grammar of the Sioux language, betrayed the Foxes to the Sioux, ran a store into bankruptcy, escaped

to California, became a doctor on the strength of his Harvard arts diploma written in Latin, became a cattle baron, and was finally murdered leaving a fortune that has never been found. No more fascinating social document has received more able fashioning than this biography at the hand of Dr. Lyman.

IV

The Delta, that strata of alluvial soils laid down by the Mississippi from Cairo to the Gulf, forms a distinct region on two counts. First, it is the Heart of Dixie, the apotheosis of cotton culture and the plantation system. In the second place, its denizens dwell under the perennial threat of the Great River. The social incidence of flood, the greatest menace dominating any region in America, affords material for two volumes under review. In his monograph Frank traces the political implications of this menace. After two centuries of heart breaking disasters the men of the Delta have at last bid farewell to arguments of constitutional and unconstitutional, of navigation vs. flood control in the Jones-Reid Act. Exclusive Federal control and support of America's largest program of internal improvements bids fair to show what engineering can achieve in remaking a region for man's use. The Red Cross report is a vivid and concise account of relief and reconstruction in the stricken area of 1927. In its social, economic, educational, and public health implications the volume furnishes an inventory of regional traits and shows the procedure of the Red Cross in a major disaster. The moving of one town, the digging out of another, the development of yeast as a pellagra preventative as well as the emergence of a unified flood control program, all seem to point to Thomas' theory of the social crisis as responsible for cultural innovation—this time in the reconstruction of a region.

CULTURE, HERE AND ELSEWHERE

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AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY. By Clark Wissler. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1929. x + 392 pp.

URSPRUNG UND VERBREITUNG DES MENSCHENGE-SCHLECHTS. By Franz Koch. Jena: Verlag von Gustav Fischer, 1929. vii + 174 pp. R.M. 11.

ARE WE CIVILIZED? HUMAN CULTURE IN PERSPECTIVE. By Robert H. Lowie. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1929. xiii + 306 pp. \$3.00.

BLACK YEOMANRY. By T. J. Woofster, Jr., with chapters by G. G. and G. B. Johnson and Clarence Heer. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1930. xi + 291 pp. \$3.00.

FOLKLORISMO. By Eduardo Sánchez de Fuentes. Havana: Imp. Molina y Cia., 1928. 350 pp.

EL FOLK-LORE EN LA MÚSICA CUBANA. By Eduardo Sánchez de Fuentes. La Habana: Imprenta "El Siglo xx," 1928. 191 pp.

LA CANCIÓN CUBANA. By Eduardo Sánchez de Fuentes. Habana: Molina y Cia., 1930. 46 pp.

CATÁLOGO DE LA COLECCIÓN DE FOLKLORE. By Instituto de Literatura Argentina. Vol. I, nos. 1-4, Vol. II, nos. 1-2, Vol. III, no. 1. Buenos Aires: Imprenta de la Universidad, 1925, 1928, 1930. xix + 433, 803, 99 pp.

RELIGION IN HUMAN AFFAIRS. By Clifford Kirkpatrick. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1929. xiii + 530 pp. \$4.50.

GODS AND MEN. By W. J. Perry. New York: William Morrow and Co., 1929. v + 87 pp. \$1.00.

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THE OLD TIME COLLEGE PRESIDENT. By George P. Schmidt. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. 251 pp. \$4.00.

I

Clark Wissler is the first to use the title Social Anthropology for a text book, but Tylor and Morgan antedated him in the sociological content of the subject some fifty years. Indeed Spencer, Letourneau, Sumner, and the majority of early American teachers of sociology were social anthropologists. After forty years of intensive field work the anthropologists are beginning again to generalize, and here we have the most systematic product so far. Much attention is paid to the earlier work of Morgan, Tylor, Frazer, Rivers, Kroeber, etc. and the author offers his criticisms and emendations. The group approach is used. Biological factors are distinguished with some care from the economic and traditional. But little time is devoted to physical culture and technology. Perhaps too much detail is lavished upon kinship and intricate organizational systems. The largest single group of chapters centers about the relations of man to the supernatural—totemism, animism, magic, mythology, beliefs and ritual—which are, of

course, very important in the lives of primitive peoples. The author's bias in favor of a *sui generis* or undervived culture and opposition to an environmentalist interpretation are much less marked than those of most American anthropologists. He does not quite arrive at a cultural sociology, partly because he does not make full connection with the present, and more because he does not adequately grasp the organic character of his subject. The volume remains, for the most part, a group of critical essays. But it is a valuable summary of research in the field. I have found it most useable as a class book when each member of the class was assigned some particular people to be interpreted in the light of the text.

Koch's *Origin and Expansion of the Human Race* is a chapter (perhaps two chapters) in general anthropology, very German and nationalistic in spirit and conception. On the anthropological side he attempts to connect his theory of race origins with Wegener's theory of continental movements and conformations. In race development he follows a neo-Darwinian, and sometimes even a neo-Lamarkian, slant. In his cultural anthropology he is typically Nordic. Here he insists upon the value of race purity and of Nordic blood for a high culture. He suggests that the Samurai may have been Nordic. The best cultures arise where a young upper caste (defenders) rules over an older, agricultural caste. There are many good plates.

Lowie asks *Are We Civilized?* Apparently not; for he finds in a comparison of primitive and modern cultures that many among us have irrational food taboos (not being able to eat certain things on certain days or when killed in certain ways), that still we tattoo, paint, and pinch ourselves, have wars, and practice magic. But there is a ray of hope for the race, for we still smoke and drink, and this would appear to be

very important for the future of civilization. It is an interesting book—and quite popular. It places the past and present manners and customs in intriguing juxtaposition. From it could be made a good scenario for the movies.

Black Yeomanry, by four University of North Carolina investigators, is a cross section study of culture in one of the isolated corners of the earth—an island off the coast of the Carolinas. Two interesting cultural currents are observable here: the decline of the ante-bellum social organization and economic system; and the slow growth of a new culture under conditions of "emancipation," helped on—or sometimes retarded—by new land tenure, new labor systems, subsidized schools, and devoted teachers. The people who made the study are seasoned investigators with sympathetic insight, who have produced a word picture vivid in detail and dependable and enlightening in content.

II

Edward Sánchez de Fuentes is a distinguished composer, musical critic and author of Havana, whose operas and songs have won for him fame in Italy, Spain, and the Americas. *Folklorismo* is a group of very readable and informative articles bearing on the history and interpretation of Cuban music, with particular reference to its relation with the rich folk lore of the island. There are also many critical and interpretative articles on leading Cuban and foreign composers and musicians. Sánchez has a deep passion for Cuban music, which is formed from an unusually rich and varied blending of Indian, African, Spanish, and modern themes and airs. In his *Folk Lore in Cuban Music* he goes into these sources in detail and traces the development back to legends and airs with most interesting results. So full of references to musical forms and Cuban composers, and

so fundamental in interpretation, is this small volume that no student of Cuban music or folk lore can afford to be without it. He promises also to make similar studies of other Latin American countries. *The Cuban Song* is a briefer and more intensive study of a particular type of popular music, along the same lines of technique used in the preceding volume. In both works there are numerous musical scores.

In 1921 the National Council of Education of Argentina began to collect through local teachers throughout Argentina the folk lore of the people. In spite of some divergencies of technique a vast amount of material was gathered. This was turned over to the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the University of Buenos Aires and classified and catalogued by the Institute of Argentine Literature, of which the rector of the University, Ricardo Rojas, was director. Only the titles of items are listed in the catalog. The collection of each teacher is listed separately and these various collections are then grouped by provinces (states). So far catalogs for the provinces of Salta, Jujuy, Tucuman, Santiago del Estero, Catamarca, and the Chaco (about one-fourth of the country, and wholly confined to the northern part) have been issued. The work is monumental and valuable, especially in view of the peculiar cultural history of Argentina. It is regrettable that a similar survey has not been made and published in this country.

III

Religion makes numerous contacts with folk lore, as Kirkpatrick recognizes in his *Religion in Human Affairs*. This is one of the first books that may properly be spoken of as a sociology of religion. It is systematic, but not in the sense of the old philosophy of religion. It is a synthetic treatment of religion as it is, and thus differs greatly from Ellwood's *Reconstruction of*

Religion, which is mainly an exhortation to religion to become socialized. Kirkpatrick does not hesitate to show the primitive traits of religion, such as emotionalism and magic, nor does he gloss over its history, so often connected with cruelty and attempts to suppress truth and right. He points out the decline of supernaturalism in religion and the growth of socialized and utilitarian attitudes. The book is characterized by the impartiality of the investigator rather than by the spirit of the partisan. It might well be used in theological seminaries, but it probably will not be to any great extent.

Perry's *Gods and Men* develops in a new way the old thesis that men created the gods, by saying that great kings became gods when they amassed such power as to separate themselves from their human kind. They also made themselves immortal when embalmment and cremation arose to render their bodies incorruptible. When the kingship grew to be complex and many-sided, multiple gods were created to represent these various attributes, as in the case of the trinity and the divine hierarchy in India. Of course, all this first happened in Egypt, but it spread to other parts of the world, including India and even the Pawnee of Nebraska. There is much material in Angus' *The Mystery Religions and Christianity*, especially in Chapter III, that would appear to support Perry's interpretation, however unintentionally. Angus realizes he is writing on a ticklish theme when he so admirably reveals the large debt of Christianity to Orphism and the mystic cults, but he excuses himself on the ground that no religion can persist by means of a falsehood. The book is a very learned one, but it is also very interesting. Nearly half of the space is given to an exposition of the mystery religions. Then their triumph in the oriental and classical worlds is explained and their downfall due

to lack of realism and functionalism is accounted for. Christianity, in replacing them also absorbed some of their elements that made most personal appeal.

Jews and Christians still have their culture conflicts, it seems. The Permanent Commission on Better Understanding between Christians and Jews has published a symposium—*Christian and Jew*—at which thirty-six leaders of both cultures broke the bread of peace. It would make an interesting study to analyze the attitudes here expressed. The Non-Jews (not all of them are Christians) struck a rather even tenor, avoiding controversy, and emitting for the most part banalities. A few of the Jews however said what they thought. Jacob Wassermann asserts that Jews can't assume an attitude of exclusiveness and superiority in the world and be welcomed. Rabbi Wise takes the injured rôle, disregarding Wassermann's implication that the Jews themselves put up the cultural barriers through their prohibition of intermarriage and cultural adjustment. Others (Jews) appear to see a solution by means of propaganda through literature, art, and the movies. The same general theme of protest is carried out in Kunitz' *Russian Literature and the Jew*. Here the complaint is primarily against the supposed caricature stereotypes which represent the Jews as extortionists, as contemptible and as distorted in personality. It does not seem to occur to any one in either book to ask which party to the conflict is most determined and active in keeping up fundamental cultural barriers, thus accounting for the more superficial phases of the conflict. Is there so little anti-Semitism in this country as yet that gentiles are not really thinking about these questions?

A genuine contribution to the history of culture is T. C. Hall's *The Religious Background of American Culture*. His researches

have led him to conclude that the characteristic American tradition does not come to us through either Puritanism, Calvinism, or the German Reformation. It begins in the old English dissent of Wyclif and the Lollards, a Reformation movement which antedated that of the continent. This spirit of dissent has worked over into our moral and political life and institutions, affecting the American Revolution, the movement for emancipation of the slaves, and even the later agrarian and liberal movements which have occurred primarily among Americans of the English tradition. Dr. Hall is himself a dissenter, having left his chair in Union Theological Seminary in 1917. Since 1921 he has resided in Goettingen, Germany. He was born in Ireland in 1858. *Protestantism in the United States*, by A. B. Bass, is less interested in origins than in the conflicts of culture among the protestant denominations. These divisions are traced back in part to the variety of sources of the Reformation in Europe and in part to the variety of interests from which it has sprung in America. In spite of the real advantages that arise from competition and a greater liveliness of intellectual discussion of religion, the obvious disadvantages of waste effort and inadequate service are even more marked. Wherefore, half of the volume is devoted to the discussion of means and methods of cooperation among denominations, and even of the merging of local denominational units. The author is a Baptist minister in North Carolina.

Oscar Marti presents the economic history of the dissenting movement discussed by Dr. Hall, in his *Economic Causes of the Reformation in England*, but only with respect to the struggle between the national and Italian elements in the church of the middle ages and early modern times. The political aspect of the movement is given little

attention here. However, the two books supplement and support each other admirably in many respects. Marti tells the story of how an overdevelopment of papal finance and Italian nepotism in England kindled the fires of religious independence which finally led to the disestablishment of the Roman church in England and the confiscation of the monastic properties in 1539. Thus, the book amounts to a criticism of the official policies of the Roman church. A much more biting and conscious criticism of the Catholic culture, in this case along various lines, is Dellhora's *The Catholic Church under Criticism in the Fields of Thought and Art*. It is a peculiarly effective book, a work of propaganda rather than a treatise. It is artistically printed on excellent paper in large quarto and contains numerous engravings, photographic reproductions, cartoons, etc., not a few in colors. There are nine divisions of the text, reproducing criticisms of the methods and aims of the Roman church by a vast number of ancient and modern poets, artists, theologians, scholars, historians, scientists and even saints. There are also many comparisons, in print and in illustration, between the professions and the practices of the church. The most telling and most frequently urged of these is that between the teachings and personality of Jesus and the ostentation, wealth, and dogmatic persecutions of the church. The morals of the clergy and even of the popes are also attacked. The simplicity of the method of the book aids greatly in its effectiveness. It is apparently one of the documents arising from the religious conflict in Mexico, but it also has obvious repercussions for Italy, through its criticism of the clerical policies of Mussolini and its emphasis upon the nationalist ideals of Garibaldi. The author is Italian. The book is reported to have been placed on the Vatican Index.

IV

Our discussion of religious culture ranging over nine volumes has led us increasingly away from folk lore to ethics. We have here a concrete illustration of the movement of religion away from a theological to a social welfare content. The study of surviving nature peoples reveals many religious traits of the primitive type. This is strikingly true of Basauri's *Monograph on the Tarahumaras*. Commissioned by the Department of Education of Mexico the author lived with these Indians through parts of 1925 and 1926. The group consists of some 20,000 people, whose ancestors were driven from the towns in 1620 into the mountains of Chihuahua, where they now live in caves and rude dwellings, practicing grazing and a primitive agriculture. They have not been greatly modified by the white man, and they still offer animal sacrifices. This is really only a preliminary study, one of several to be carried through by the Department of Rural Schools for its administrative aid, but it contains most valuable materials about religious practices, social organization, technology, social control, and the physical measurements of the tribes. *The Present Social Condition of the Native Population of Mexico*, by the same author, is a detailed summary of the conditions affecting and modifying the life of isolated Indian tribes. There are also brief summaries of the chief cultural traits of each of these tribes, together with their geographic distribution. This also is a study made for the national Department of Education, and is another of the many evidences of the progressiveness of the present régime in Mexico. Somewhat nearer home is the scene of Miss Reichard's *Social Life of the Navajo Indians*. It is a very detailed and careful study, but the text is not overburdened with the evidences of the technique of the investigator. These are left to a voluminous appendix

of statistics, charts and other data. The chief emphasis is upon genealogy and kinship relationships, which now seems to be the vogue. Nearly two-thirds of the book is devoted in one way or another to social organization. The other subjects treated are ceremonials, crises of life (exemplified in typical ceremonies), folk lore and belief, and assimilation and resistance thereto. It is an excellent contribution to the sociology of primitive peoples. Like the study of the Tarahumaras, it contains many interesting and valuable photographic plates.

V

Pablo Cabrera is a scholar and priest of much note for his learning in Argentina. For thirty years and more he has labored to reconstruct the cultural history of northern Argentina, especially in the ancient land of Cuyo, which embraced what is now the northwest provinces. His *Aborigines of the Land of Cuyo* is the standard archeological work in that field. The distinguished padre is a most painstaking investigator and the present work is replete with the evidences of his learning. He has succeeded pretty well in tracing out the topography of the primitive tribes and in locating and naming them. He works largely through linguistic media, but there are also various colonial narratives and monastic records of Indian movements, attacks and migrations; also the land records and documents relative to the encomiendos, as well as missionary and baptismal records. Many of these items, as well as a word list of more than 100 pages, have found their way into his appendices. The learned padre is less interested in a description of the life and behavior of the Indians—if such could be reconstructed at this date—than in their ethnography, geography and relations with the Spanish conquistadores and encomienderos. His *Essay on the Lules* is an earlier study of four related groups of

Indians overlapping the land of Cuyo and extending eastward through Santiago del Estero. They varied in culture from collectors to primitive agriculturalists, some of them practicing cannibalism. Their language also was mixed, and like their habitat, somewhat unsettled. On the whole they constituted a defense and control unit. To free themselves from Spanish oppression, after some unsuccessful attempts to defend their territorial and personal and property rights, they migrated to the Chaco.

Father Cabrera is also steeped in the early colonial history of northern Argentina. His brief work on *Sobremonte* is a partial reconstruction of the personality and vindication of the work of the Spanish governor at the time of the Argentine revolution for independence (1810). His *Trejo and His Work* is also a defense, this time of the policies and labors of the bishop who founded the University of Cordoba, the second oldest in America. Besides offering much material of historical value, these two monographs may be taken as a phase of the literary reaction favorable to the Spanish and ecclesiastical traditions now in mild ascendancy in Latin America. *The Founding of Cordoba* is an interesting historical essay on the planting in 1573 of this third city of Argentina in point of size and perhaps first in the richness of its traditions. The *Treasures of the Argentine Past* is a group of ten historical and geographical essays, entertaining and illuminating, dealing with early personages and places of importance, with Indian peoples resident in the country, the founder of Cordoba, the early cities of Tucuman, Indian corn and Cordoba half a century ago. Like the two preceding monographs, these two also are indispensable to the historian and indeed to the reader of Latin American history.

In 1928 the University of Cordoba con-

ferred upon Monseignor Cabrera the degree of LL.D., and the folleto bearing the title *Pablo Cabrera* contains the laudatory address of the occasion, pronounced by Dr. Enrique Martinez Paz (one of the earliest of Argentine sociologists), recounting the scholarly and public labors of the padre, and the padre's own modest rejoinder. Cabrera is one of Cordoba's most honored institutions.

VI

Archaeology is having a great run these days. American archaeology is not neglected. Ricci's *Pictographs of the Cordoban Grottos* is an ambitious attempt to establish the identity of extensive pictographs in three caves of the northwest of the province of Cordoba, Argentina with a constellation map of the heavens made by the aborigines in order to determine astronomical events and perhaps as a device for practicing astrology. The author makes numerous detailed comparisons, in expensive plates and charts, between the mediaeval European constellations and the Mayan on the one hand and the Cordoban on the other in order to prove his point. At times there is marked similarity, although the Cordoban pictographs are relatively crude. Ricci is a professor in the University of Buenos Aires. *Eurindia in American Architecture*, by Angel Guido, is a beautifully illustrated (in colortones) and printed brochure showing the combination of aboriginal American and European traits in modern South American architecture. The effects are extremely good and the development of the cultural movement is marked.

Medina's *Bibliography of the Guarani Language* is a very useful piece of research published by the very active Institute of Historical Investigations of the University of Buenos Aires. A total of 144 titles are listed, dealing with this important east coast and river language group, dating

from the fifteen-thirties to 1927. The period of greatest productivity was apparently the sixties, seventies, and eighties of the last century, when sometimes a number of publications appeared in a single year.

A very thorough historical-cultural summary is Genet's *History of the Shoshone-Aztec Peoples* from the earliest times to the Spanish settlement. It is a critical summary of the important investigations in the field rather than an attempt to propound and support a hitherto unthought-of theory. Consequently much attention is given to European and Mexican sources and a good discussion of geographical backgrounds is included. Much space is devoted to the Toltec empires and to the Mexican period, with the subversive effects of the coming of the Spaniards. The religion and the social life each have chapters. There are also discussions of kindred nations. The presentation of the material is clear and interesting. Mena's *Synthesis of Mexican Archaeology* was prepared for students (especially English-speaking) of the summer school of the National University of Mexico. It presents the most outstanding facts regarding the ancient peoples of Mexico and Yucatan, their architecture, arts and writing. There are several illustrations of the most important items. The author is curator of Archaeology in the Mexican National Museum as well as professor in the University.

The Indians of the West Indies disappeared before colonial rapacity without much record being made of their civilization. There is now an effort to reconstruct their culture, sometimes by the study of their house and village sites and also by assembling the chance references to them in Spanish colonial writings. Escoto's *Macuriges Indians of Haiti and Cuba* is of the latter type. The assembling of data from writers of the time of de las Casas

down has been carried through with much care, with the result that a pretty connected, if not detailed, picture of types, culture, and origins of these Indians is presented. Apparently they came from the North American mainland, or by way of the lesser Antilles, and had developed a very considerable culture at the time of the Spanish discovery.

VII

One of the best brief summaries of social archaeology, or archaeological sociology, is Renard's *Life and Work in Prehistoric Times*. Besides an introduction on the methods of prehistory, much needed for teaching purposes and for popular information, there are twelve chapters ranging from food to social organization. Language and fire are regarded as the two great discoveries. Industries, shelter, clothing, animal domestication, agriculture, transportation, war, trade, the arts, and even the origins of science come in for their share of treatment. It is regrettable that the volumes of the History of Civilization series should be priced so high, relatively to their cost of production. They deserve a very wide circulation.

A book with a most intriguing thesis is Waddell's *The Makers of Civilization in Race and History*, which revives the old doctrine of Aryan dominance. There is here a great mass of material, drawn especially from ancient records, so arranged as to support the author's contention that the Aryans were identical with the Sumarians, and that the Egyptian, Cretan and Hindu civilizations were offsprings of that of the Mesopotamian valley, which itself probably came from the Danube by way of Cappadocia. The author claims to have found an identity of kings, heroes and gods in all of these countries and that these were derived from the Aryans in their original home. Less pretentious, but perhaps as

plausible, is Castells' *Prehistoric Man in Genesis*, which attempts to give a semi-historic setting and a naturalistic interpretation to the biblical story of creation. Adam is a general term for man or earth men. The garden of Eden is given a location in the fertile Mesopotamian valley. Eve was the offspring of the Adamic, or earth tilling, race. The author resorts primarily to philology to establish his points of view. It is very interesting to note the present strong trend to connect tradition and myth with physical and cultural reality.

VIII

No history of the Etruscans has ever been written, except the poor one by Claudio, now lost. Randall-MacIver bases his work, *The Etruscans*, almost wholly on archaeological data, with the result that he presents a synthesis of their culture—dress, arts, handicrafts, rural and urban life, social contacts and organization, architecture, ceremonials, language, literature, religion, economic activities, etc.—rather than a narrative history. He accepts the account of their origin given by Herodotus and explains their downfall by their feudal organization which prevented a national unity to oppose that of Rome. The work is compact and authoritative, and the plates are good.

Solon and Croesus is the symbolical title Zimmern has given his delightful early essays on Greek culture, now published for the first time. The methodological chapters—History as an Art, Suggestions towards a Political Economy of the Greek City State, and The Study of Greek History—are of fundamental value to the cultural investigator. The essay on Thucydides the Imperialist throws this early historian also into perspective as a sociologist and an economist. The two chapters on the place of slavery in the Greek culture, as well as

the introduction, showing the growth of the influence of wealth at the expense of ideals of citizenship (whence the title of the book), are also decidedly sociological. The introduction, especially, has a message for our times; but all of the essays are written from the modern standpoint, without distorting the Hellenic perspective.

IX

Coulton's *Life in the Middle Ages* is a source book bringing together in English translation much valuable illustrative material not hitherto easily available. It is useful not only to the student of history, but also the culture sociologist who wishes to present definite pictures of the culture forms of that time. The present volume deals with monks, friars and nuns. The exhibit would have been improved by the use of more explanatory materials. Karl Vossler's *Mediaeval Culture* is an excellently equipped arsenal for the teaching culture sociologist. While the main theme is Dante and his ideas, the interpretation is always of Dante as the cultural symbol and embodiment of the age. The first volume gives the religious, philosophic, and ethico-political backgrounds of the Divine Comedy. There are comparisons with the Faust, expositions of Christian belief and symbolism, of the sources of Dante's cultural notions, and essays on the ethics and political philosophy of the times, as well as extended treatment of the church in the middle ages, the dissolution of the mediaeval world, and the personality of Dante. The treatment in the second volume is more limited in scope, concentrating primarily upon the literary background of the Divine Comedy and its poetry. The former of these themes constitutes in reality a 200 page essay on the philosophy and sociology of early Italian literature and art. The bibliographical comments are excellent.

X

Cuba possesses in Salvador Salazar y Roig a very distinguished historian of Spanish literature, perhaps the ablest of the language. He has already composed two excellent works in the field and is now at work on a much more monumental undertaking. His *Introduction to Spanish Literature* was produced to meet the needs of normal schools in Cuba in teaching the history and criticism of the literature of Spain. It is semi-biographical in approach, but is also analytical and philosophical. The author is himself professor in the University of Havana and is thoroughly familiar with his subject. The artistic, philosophic, and sociological insight he brings to his interpretations of Spanish writers from the earliest times to the present day is very pleasing. The *Course in Castilian Literature* is intended for more advanced study and is organized topically and with less reference to biographical details. The historical and general cultural settings come in for much greater explanatory emphasis. The treatment is not limited to Spanish writers only, but also embraces Spanish American authors in their proper temporal and cultural locations. The effect produced by this wider view of the whole field of Castilian literature is very satisfying for its inclusiveness and unity of treatment. One feels in reading the book that he is really following an account of Spanish culture as a whole through the medium of its literary creators and interpreters. The same author is also engaged in the preparation of a voluminous period history of Spanish literature (*History of Spanish Literature*) of which four volumes, representing as many epochs and bringing the subject down to the fifteenth century, have already appeared. The method followed in these volumes is that of much greater detailed analysis of literary procedure and technique, of subject matter,

and of other cultural connections and derivations. There are also many more actual quotations from the writers themselves. The philosophic interpretation is likewise much more detailed. In all of these works by Salazar y Roig there is a strong philosophical and sociological interpretation and criticism which reminds one strikingly of Taine, although the content of the reasoning is perhaps more dependable, if somewhat less brilliant. The style is clear and the movement good and harmonious. All of these works should be translated into English.

XI

Likewise should there be an English translation of Max Daireaux' brilliant *Spanish-American Literature*, a field that never has been treated adequately by any North American writer. Daireaux is himself a Latin American and knows its culture well, although he now lives and works in Paris. It is his thesis that Spanish American literature was born of the revolutions against Spain that began in 1810. At that time the spiritual life of the Spanish speaking peoples in America was unified by a common cause, but since that time culture has become increasingly regional. Consequently, the West Indies and Mexico are, along with Brazil—which he describes as a French cultural colony—left out of the present treatment, attention being centered on Spanish South America. The development of this literature is clearly from poetry, essay and history toward the modern drama, novel, criticism and the social sciences; from romanticism toward analysis. The material presented is well selected and typical, and the reader feels that he secures a unified idea of the literary culture and its social backgrounds in South America without the scene being overcrowded with minute details. Salazar y Roig has done somewhat less brilliantly,

but very adequately, a similar service for Cuba in his *History of Cuban Literature*. This is a companion volume to his *Introduction to Spanish Literature* and is constructed along the same lines, for students in normal schools. It is even more indispensable for North American readers.

The same scholar has published an interesting monograph entitled *Grief in Cuban Lyrics*, in which he explains the temperamental sadness of the Cuban national character in the light of the history of the people and traces this spirit in their poetry touching nature, love, their country, and even their philosophic thought. It is an interesting study in national psychology. A curious and somewhat exotic book is Max Daireaux' *Love in South America*, but in some ways quite appealing even to an "Anglo-Saxon"; and it must be much more so to a Latin. The lack of love, or at least the limitation to its grosser forms, in the period of conquest was followed by types of love—heroic, passionate, or even self-denying—which always corresponded closely to the cultural conditions of changing and disturbed times. Then came the love of the nineteenth century corresponding to a wider scene of action for women, and finally modern love with its somewhat ambiguous and evolving character. Here also is an interesting study in the psychology of peoples, and of the epochs in which action has been cast.

One of the clearest critics and thinkers of Latin America is Robert Giusti, coeditor of *Nosotros*, the leading literary review of Argentina. In the fourth series of his *Criticism and Polemics* he gives us the fruits of three years of occasional leisure and thought since 1927. Here are essays on Ortega y Gasset, Groussac, Julio Cejador, and Florencio Sanchez, and three excellent general interpretative essays estimating Italian influence on Argentine culture, twenty years of Argentine literature, and

Portuguese literature. Although Italian, no one in Argentina writes more beautiful Spanish prose than Giusti. Lottero's appreciation of *Three Uruguayan Poetesses* has been translated into Italian from the Spanish and introduced by Emilio de Mattei. Perhaps the greatest of the three—Maria Eugenia Vaz Ferreira, the sister of the distinguished Uruguayan scholar—died before her single volume of lyrics was published. The second—Delmira Agustini—Sappho-like, took her own life in 1914 at the age of 28, because of disappointment in love. She left two volumes of passionate verse. The third—Luisa Luisi—more addicted to domestic and intellectualistic themes, still lives.

XII

Nationalism excites much literary interest in our day. The *Encyclopedia Grafica* of Barcelona, that most enterprising Mediterranean city, is publishing monthly monographs, many of which deal with cities and nations, beautifully illustrated in colortone from the most characteristic cultural objects of these peoples. At hand are two issues—*History of Spain* and *Barcelona*—which carry a wealth of graphic matter and well written popular text calculated and intended to strengthen patriotic bonds. A much more systematic study in nationalism is C. J. H. Hayes' *France, a Nation of Patriots*. This book of course is not itself propaganda, but is a study of the propaganda methods used in France by the press, schools, church, business, and various other agencies to strengthen the bonds of national self-feeling. It provides a most interesting exhibit of the utilization of the psychology of suggestion and imitation for a specific end, with which we have been so familiar since the great war. This is one of the volumes in Merriam's series of studies of the making of citizens in various countries. There are

appendices carrying the evidence for the conclusions.

Two travel books—Saiz de la Mora's *Through Spanish Highways* and Salazar y Roig's *Switzerland*—illustrate the Latin American's great love of travel. Not only does he visit other lands and study their culture, but he also brings home his observations and shares them through print with his fellow countrymen. Saiz' volume connects the history and the culture of the country with what he sees, weaving all of it together in an instructive and agreeable whole. Salazar is more interested in the physical aspects of Swiss cities, lakes and mountains. Both volumes are well illustrated. Both authors are Cuban professors.

Juan Mantovani, an Argentine professor, raises the question of international conflict in his *Oriental-Occidental Cultural Problem*. He finds that western culture has lost its spiritual unity, almost its spiritual content, and is now little more than a machine technology culture. Thus it faces an internal spiritual conflict, while at the same time it is confronted by a much greater conflict from without, due to the awakening of the oriental hordes. Here he leaves us with forebodings, with some references to the ideas of Spengler, Keyserling, Scheler and others. Randall, however, shows a much more optimistic outlook in his *A World Community*. He displays to view the forces creating a world consciousness—the new communication, a growing economic organism, ever widening science, and an emerging ideal of world unity. However, he offsets these with four disunifying factors—nationalism, economic imperialism, war and competitive armaments, and ignorance and set ways of thinking. On the whole he finds that we are growing toward political internationalism, world economic cooperation (in spite of the

tariff), and (perhaps) a religion for a world community. Let us hope with him, but each one may think for himself.

XIII

G. D. H. Cole has completed his *Short History of the British Working-Class Movement* with the publication of the third volume. He recognizes the somewhat hasty character of the work, especially of the third volume (1900-1927), but hopes some day to complete a larger study for the scholars. This work is for working men. It deals primarily with the industrial conflicts and test cases of the last quarter century, intensified because England was most vulnerable among the nations and therefore hardest hit by the world war. Gide's *Communist and Cooperative Colonies* tells a fascinating story of how men have attempted to live and labor in close communion from the earliest times down to the present. In his list there are primitive, monastic, Jesuit, Protestant, socialist, anarchist, agrarian, and cooperative colonies. He tells why they have always in some measure failed and how to some degree they have succeeded. Personality has always loomed large in these situations.

Sociologically, psychologically and economically—perhaps even religiously—this book is a valuable one, interesting and informing.

XIV

Excellently done is Schmidt's *The Old Time College President*, who had his heyday before 1860. Like some other institutions he was killed off by the maturing industrial revolution, which demanded a larger educational unit, and the Morrill act, which saved the state universities from cut-throat competition. Teaching the social and moral sciences of his day, he was also leader of the youth, and was therefore selected because of his personality and training as a scholar. In our day of educational big business and academic diplomacy he has no place. But Schmidt has successfully raised his ghost—a long train of them—who march with dignified, but impassioned, tread and moral earnestness across our vision. All honor to him. He was a real man, a beneficent force in his day, however much the laggard may have wished for him the oblivion which has come his way. The author has produced a good book, one that touches on many phases of culture.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ERICH W. ZIMMERMAN
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THE WORLD'S ECONOMIC DILEMMA. By Ernest Minor Patterson. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1930. 317 pp. \$3.50.

AMERICA CONQUERS BRITAIN. By L. Denny. New York: Knopf, 1930. 407 pp. \$4.00.

THE GIANT OF THE WESTERN WORLD (AMERICA AND EUROPE IN A NORTH ATLANTIC CIVILIZATION). By Francis Miller and Helen Hill. New York: William Morrow and Co., 1930. 308 pp. \$3.00.

INTERNATIONAL CONTROL OF RAW MATERIALS. By B. B. Wallace and L. R. Edminster. Washington, D. C.: Brookings Institution, 1930. 467 pp. \$3.50.

Social and political institutions tend to lag behind economic and technical advance. This holds true in the life of nations, but applies with special weight to international affairs. On the one hand, radio, fast steamships and faster aeroplanes are bringing the continents of the earth ever closer together. On the other hand, national boundaries are multiplying, and barriers separating nations are being raised. To use the eloquent words of Owen D.

Young, "our politics raises its petty barriers, oblivious of the mighty forces which men have let loose upon themselves."

The conflict of trends existed before the war, but was aggravated by this great calamity which drove on with ever-increasing speed the engineer, the chemist, and the host of modern scientists, challenged big business to build another ten stories on top of its lofty structures, but, at the same time, fanned the fires of national and racial hatred. The powers, witnessing this unfortunate development, seek remedies in a League of Nations, in a World Court, in arbitration treaties, and in similar devices; but as yet the result of their effort can hardly be called encouraging.

Ernest Minor Patterson, Professor of Economics, University of Pennsylvania, has performed a valuable service by drawing the attention of the reading public to this dilemma of the world, and, in particular, by stressing the economic aspects of the problem. (Foreign affairs have long been considered the legitimate hunting ground of the politician, the student of political science, the historian, and the statesman; but the economist was supposed to confine himself to discussing theoretical problems, such as the incidence of import duties, the principle of comparative cost, and similar matters.) The events of the last ten years have shown that the world's dilemma is economic at least as much as it is political. It is essentially the conflict between expanding economic—and technological—forces, pressing against or driving through obsolete political barriers, and vested interests trying to stem the tide; but it is also the struggle between courage and fear, hope and despair!

The dilemma, which Professor Patterson makes the subject of his book, was treated effectively by Culbertson, now American Ambassador to Chile, in his excellent book,

"International Economic Policies." Culbertson despaired of a world which tried to solve 20th century economic problems with 18th century philosophy and 19th century politics. The Frenchman Francis Delaisi, in his stimulating volume which appeared in English translation under the title of *Political Myths and Economic Realities* covered somewhat similar ground. While Culbertson discussed the dilemma only incidentally in its relation to international policy and while Delaisi treats the subject in a rather journalistic fashion, highly temperamental and sometimes radical, Professor Patterson approaches the problem from the standpoint of the teacher of economics. Through methodical analysis of each phase viewed in the light of the principles of economics as they have gradually evolved during the last one hundred or two hundred years, he tries to lay bare the real causes responsible for our present troubles, and seeks remedies which are strictly in keeping with sound economic thinking.

The book is divided into a general part covering nine chapters, a specific part covering six chapters, and a concluding chapter. In the general part, the basic conditions underlying the problem are discussed, particularly population pressure, the distribution of natural resources and the growth and complexity of modern business and industrial structures. In the second part, the recent economic development of the six leading powers, the United States, Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy, and Japan, is discussed. The final chapter offers four suggestions for the possible solution of the dilemma as follows: commercial treaties designed to establish better relations and to adjust difficulties; international cooperation in the form of trusts or cartels facilitating friendly co-operation among representatives of big business throughout the world; financial

consortia through which bankers may co-operate in similar fashion; the League of Nations. This last named organization, in the opinion of the author, "is gradually helping to substitute sanity and a spirit of adjustment for economic ill-will and friction." Professor Patterson believes that progress is being made, but that it is bound to be very slow indeed. (This opinion cannot help but remind the reader of a recent utterance of Elihu Root, who called the impatient reformer the worst enemy of real progress in the field of international relations.)

If one were to search for incidents illustrating the hardships and difficulties entailed in the economic dilemma of the world, one can hardly do better than to turn to Ludwell Denny's "America Conquers Britain." To the reviewer it seems unfortunate that the publisher or the author, or both, have chosen to give to this important book a rather sensational appearance through title, jacket, chapter headings, etc. Perhaps that is necessary in these days when millions will read the sport page describing harmless battles of the few and only a small number show a spontaneous interest in conflicts which may lead to most harmful battles of the many. Yet, it seems a pity that what is really a very serious scholarly, well-reasoned, and well documented work should be dressed up in the flimsy garments of a sensational novel. Those of us who faithfully read the metropolitan press, (with the aid of occasional news items) get an inkling of the great economic conflicts for raw materials and markets which are going on in the world today. But in that way one gets only a hazy idea of this great struggle in which the industrial powers of the earth are jockeying for vantage points from which better to fight the battles of peace, if peace it can be, or the battles of war, if war it must be. To those the book by Denny is

not exactly a revelation; but it serves to tie together into an amazing pattern of world-wide forces what otherwise are merely a large number of isolated incidents.

Mr. Denny is a journalist. He has spent many years in foreign countries and now he is chief editorial writer of the Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance. He is a gifted writer, but also a real scholar, a man evidently well trained in the basic principles of economics and equally well versed in the art of diplomacy, but above all a man possessing the rare ability to think for himself and the rare quality of courage to say that which he knows "the powers that be" would rather not have said.

To write about economic war between the two great Anglo-Saxon nations is seldom popular with the majority. Twisting the lion's tail is a good trick only when the plaudits of selected minorities are sought; but Mr. Denny is above the cheap ambition of seeking anybody's plaudit. He is not interested in popularity; he aims to put before the intelligentsia of this country a development which all must admit is pregnant with frightful potencies.

One never gets the impression that Mr. Denny is a sensation monger who loves to stir up trouble just for the sake of excitement. A deep and convincing note of lofty love of peace runs through the entire exposition. No doubt, some will wonder whether bringing to the attention of the reading public the ominous developments which otherwise would escape their attention and remain the secrets of foreign offices is the surest way to promote peace. If Wilson was right to look upon open diplomacy as one of the strongest safeguards of future peace, Mr. Denny is right also. The efficacy of such publicity methods, which try to work through the medium of educated and enlightened voters, depends, of course, on the soundness of

the democratic idea and on the extent to which the will of the people can really be made the carrier of national policy. Anything which contributes toward opening the eyes of the people to reality, no matter how distressing, should help to form that will and to lay the foundation for sound national policy.

Mr. Denny treats only a phase of the world economic dilemma, but probably the most important phase. This dilemma is intimately tied up with the problem of capitalism. The British Empire and the United States are the two most powerful and most successful exponents of capitalistic economy. The conflict between these two leading capitalistic powers means a house divided against itself, a condition which itself becomes a vital element in the question of the future of capitalism.

The book is brim-full of valuable information and possibly still more valuable interpretation. It should be read by all those who have the future peace of the world at heart, and who believe that if only the people are made to realize whether they are drifting they will be prepared to take the helm and steer the ship of state into a safe port.

As the reader, stunned by the alarming account of impending world perils, puts aside Mr. Denny's striking contribution, he cannot do better than to pick up a book which, in some ways, is a supplement, in other ways, an antidote to Denny's. That volume is *The Giant of the Western World* by Francis Miller and Helen Hill. Equally well qualified, as is Mr. Denny, to speak on the great problem of the new situation created by the impact of America on Europe, the authors of this book apply an entirely different method to accomplish their ends. While Denny pictures Anglo-Saxon rivalry and warns of the dangers lurking in the background—a negative method—, Miller and Hill concentrate

upon the forces which tie America and Europe ever more closely together and seek through positive ways to promote inter-continental cooperation. The one warns; the other urges.

The theme of *The Giant of the Western World* is contained in the following paragraph: "The New World has at length discovered the Old World. America is being internationalized and Europe is being Americanized. The actions and reactions which are taking place between America and Europe are changing the face of both continents. On each of them a new type of society is emerging which possesses so many traits in common with the other that they may be fairly considered as forming one civilization." This theme is developed with an authority, a skill, and, above all, a charm which makes the reading of this book one of the most intense pleasures which the intellectual of today may enjoy. It is evident that the authors combine qualities and experience seldom, if ever, found in a single individual. Nothing indicates the division of labor between the two contributors; yet at times the reader comes under the spell of a charm which he instinctively associates with the feminine touch. At other times, he listens to the strong voice of masculine authority.

The book deals with a subject which in the reviewer's opinion, in the decades to come, is going to form the basis of an entirely new literature. It is a rare event to find one of the early contributions to such a new adventure in literature so well proportioned and free from the flaws of immaturity as this book by Miller and Hill. The book is by no means the first in its field, for the new relationship between the two sides of the North Atlantic has been made the subject of numerous others; but it is the first book which, to the reviewer, clearly seems to possess the ear-marks of a "classic" in its field.

While Ludwell Denny emphasizes the conflict between Great Britain and the United States and brings in other powers more or less incidentally, the book of the Brookings Institution on *International Control of Raw Materials* approaches this question of economic dilemma along functional lines, and discusses in a rather descriptive manner various incidents of international price control. Denny, in his book, discusses several of these control schemes, but confines himself to those directly bearing on the Anglo-American conflict. This book by Wallace and Edminster tears down these national limits and adds to the British rubber control plan and the American copper control scheme the Franco-German potash combine, the Chilean nitrate control, the Japanese camphor case, Brazilian coffee valorization, and the Canadian embargoes on pulp wood. The book brings together a great deal of material which formerly was available only in rather scattered form and adds a considerable number of documents which will prove particularly valuable to the research student and historian.

It is quite evident that the authors of this book have tried to be fair. They admit at the outset that a tariff is in principle as much an interference with the process of free distribution as is a system of export duties or almost any other form of artificial control over commodity movements and market prices. With that attitude they place themselves definitely in opposition to President Hoover who has consistently held that tariffs are domestic affairs while international price control schemes must be fought as endangering international goodwill. The effort to play fair is also evidenced by the attitude taken on the question of American retaliation to foreign price control and is found in the nature of the solution proposed, namely, equitable

treatment and relief through international action.

Nevertheless, there is much which, to the reviewer, seems unfortunate because it is apt to detract considerably from the value of the book as an advocate of fair play. Perhaps these deficiencies are explained by the history of the book. In the first place, the publications of the Brookings Institution are designed to place before the American public the facts and issues bearing on national policy. The Institution is commissioned to give to these expositions a form so simple that even those not thoroughly trained in economics and political science can understand them. In view of the fact that many problems of modern economic life are inherently complex, that commission taxes the powers of writers well nigh to the breaking point. Secondly, the particular study was undertaken at a time when President Hoover, then Secretary of Commerce, had succeeded in arousing national emotions and had thus to some extent prejudiced the impartial study of international price control schemes. The manuscript was originally intended to study the problem of international control of raw materials "frankly from the standpoint of the American consumer"—consumer in this case meaning not merely final consumer, but especially those powerful industries which are dependent on foreign raw materials. As the years went on, it was apparently realized that such an exposition, being necessarily partisan, did not promote the cause of international goodwill. An effort was made, therefore, to "tone down" the arguments against price control and to give at least some of the arguments in its defense. As one reads the book, one has the feeling as if these two trends had not been fused as completely as one might wish.

In the reviewer's opinion, the best way

to approach the question of international control of raw materials is to go down to first principles. In England at the present time a systematic study of this entire problem of international price control is being undertaken, and the first phase of this study consists of a short, but well-reasoned analysis of the abstract premises. The Brookings Institution, being commissioned to write for the general reader, may agree in principle to this method of approach, but, at the same time, may feel that the peculiar circumstances under which it is operating do not permit the use of this method. Yet, it may seem questionable whether the subject of price control can be treated adequately and satisfactorily without that general discussion of basic principles. That illustrates the first point made in the preceding paragraph.

Turning now to the second point, one may draw attention, in the first place, to the fact that statistical tables in many places do not reach further than 1926; a fact which must seem regrettable in a 1930 publication on a very vital question of current economics. But that is merely a matter of form. More important may appear the fact that remnants of the original partisan approach can be traced in several chapters. The authors view with special concern those cases of price control in which governments take a hand. Yet, it would seem that a fair statement of this phase would undertake to analyze the function of government under various conditions. In Sao Paulo, which lives almost entirely on coffee, the leaders of the coffee industry and the leaders in government must of necessity be almost identical. Or take the case of Japanese camphor: camphor is produced in the wild forests of Formosa under the very bayonets of Japanese troops, which protect the camphor "manufacturers" against the attacks of savage head hunters. It is evident, there-

fore, that the government, as the logical and legitimate provisor of military protection, inevitably is involved in the industry, and the question of the right of a government to participate in matters of price control should, in the opinion of the reviewer, take such peculiar circumstances into account. Or turn to the case of German national policy toward potash. Is not the whole question of conservation of resources involved, a question on which we in this young and incredibly rich country necessarily hold entirely different opinions from those which must seem quite natural to an older economy which is relatively barren in mineral wealth?

In spite of these deficiencies of the publication of the Brookings Institution, this book on international control of raw materials must be welcomed as an important contribution to the literature on a subject which should be close to the heart of every student of economic and social forces.

AMERICAN CITY GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION.
By Austin F. Macdonald. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1929. 762 pp.

In this volume we have a well presented resumé of the theory and practice of American city government. Part I treats of the growth of cities, city-state relations, the forms of city government and the underlying theory. In Part II various phases of municipal administration are discussed—phases such as revenues, planning, zoning, police and fire systems, traffic, charities and corrections, health and housing.

The book is well planned for use as a text, is clear and concise in presentation of material. Helpful and well chosen bibliographies are appended to each chapter.

Obviously a comprehensive study such as this cannot be profound. The author had no such expectations for it. His purpose, as he himself says, has been the presentation of "the story of American city

government and administration within the compass of a single volume." This objective he has attained.

If one is inclined to quarrel with the generalities and the lack of specific data, as note for example, the chapter on Charities and Corrections, to mention only one, an answer is that any author attempting to cover the range of material embraced in this study, must paint with a broad brush, and that detailed treatment of specific phases may be found in the publications listed in the bibliographies.

The contribution of the volume lies neither in its presentation of new material, nor in new interpretations. It adds nothing to the works of Munro, Anderson, Upson, Maxey, Kimball, and the others who have written on the same subject or some phase of it. The book, however, does present in convenient form general and basic material on municipal government and administration.

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FOREIGN NEWS IN AMERICAN MORNING NEWSPAPERS:

A STUDY IN PUBLIC OPINION. By Julian L. Woodward. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. 122 pp. \$2.00.

This study is the result of research undertaken at Columbia University where Dr. A. A. Tenney has for many years been interesting students in quantitative analysis of newspapers. Dr. Woodward's book centers in two points: (1) the amount of foreign news contained in American morning newspapers; (2) the criteria that may be developed for judging reliability of data in any study involving newspaper analysis. The latter is dominant and the information concerning amounts of news was gained incidentally in the attempts to establish reliable sampling and averaging procedures. There have been published several studies involving analysis of newspaper contents

but in all of them the question of reliability of the sample has been side-stepped or ignored. Woodward correctly points out that a sound methodology for newspaper analysis necessitates consideration of the adequacy of the sample as well as the validity of differences that measurement of newspapers may reveal.

The present study was made on forty selected morning papers, all with circulations exceeding 50,000. Where one paper in a city was included, all of its morning competitors were also included to permit comparison. The period covered nine months in 1927, and eighteen issues of the papers were used. In making comparisons all data were reduced to a common column centimeter standard to eliminate differences resulting from variation in type size, leading, etc. Headlines were excluded from all measurements. The results are presented in two chapters, "Sociological Conclusions from the Results of the Study," and "Methodological Conclusions from the Results of the Study." In the former it is pointed out that taken as a whole between five and six per cent of all news space is given to foreign news, that there is great variation between papers, and that distance from the seaboard and circulation are not correlated with amounts of foreign news. In his methodological conclusions Woodward has made a definite contribution to the study of newspaper contents and his volume will be of interest not only to students of the newspapers but to all who are interested in the application of quantitative technique to social analysis.

MALCOLM M. WILLEY.

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CHINA AND JAPAN IN OUR UNIVERSITY CURRICULA.
Ed. by E. C. Carter. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930. 191 pp. \$2.00.

Along with investigations into cases of immediate social contact between two

peoples, into the expressed opinions of typical citizens of one people toward another people and culture, into the contents of papers, periodicals, book and textbooks depicting another people, I presume it is important to consider what is taught concerning the other people in the supposed fountain of the school system whence percolate at least some definite information and attitudes down into the rest of the system. That places the volume before us from one standpoint. From another standpoint, it discloses the extreme scarcity in American institutions of attempts to apply anthropological and sociological technique to the study of Oriental civilizations, and hence the neglect of many facts about Oriental culture and Oriental-Occidental relations that might materially affect current American interpretations of the Orient.

This report of a questionnaire study of the courses on the Far East offered in 1927-28 by American colleges and universities, gives teacher, semester hours, enrollment, and description of each course, with the enrollment and endowment of the institutions offering them, and with opinions from those institutions as to the trends in such instruction. It is unfortunate the work was not done with greater thoroughness. Certain relevant facts easy to secure were omitted; courses with anywhere from one semester hour to sixteen were lumped together continually, a fact that makes the summaries on enrolment deceptive; it classifies courses by departments offering them instead of by content; it fails to distinguish between analyses of Oriental culture and of relations between Orient and Occident, e.g., under economics are courses both on foreign trade and on the economic structure of Oriental civilization; and it fails to eliminate obvious padding by institutions wishing a good record. The map in the original edition brought out by

the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, was simply "unintentionally omitted" from the present edition, the publishers write me.

Nevertheless, the report was worth making, and data can be ferreted out of it which will add enormously to the significance which the editor's summaries present.

MAURICE T. PRICE.

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INCOME AND WAGES IN THE SOUTH. By Clarence Heer. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1930. 68 pp. \$1.00.

This is a research monograph published by the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina. It is, according to the author, a preliminary study, published as such because of its timeliness in the light of present southern industrial conditions.

The income status of the South is shown to be low in both agricultural and industrial enterprises. The evidences of this fact are found from such statistical sources as Federal Income Tax returns, farm wages, value of farm products, industrial wages and salaries of some professional groups. The sources of information are census documents and monographs, Year Books of Agriculture, Bulletins of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, Monthly Labor Review, Reports of State Tax Commissions, and such documents as those by Leven, King, and other students of income in the United States.

"The South" as defined in this study includes the ten states of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Louisiana. These will be immediately recognized as including the major portion of the combined tobacco and cotton belts and also as being that area of the nation which has been most

rapidly industrialized during the last two decades. Because of these facts and because of recent labor disturbances in this industrial area, the data of this document are of extreme interest.

The analysis carried quite consistently throughout the document is on the basis of a comparison of the ten southern states with the remainder of the nation. There is no muckraking or propaganda in the book, only a presentation of statistical data with necessary description of backgrounds and explanation of conditions. The first chapter gives a survey of the income and wage status of the area studied. The following three chapters present the detailed data and the final chapter offers an explanation of "Why Southern Incomes are Low."

This study is not only interesting as a brief economic analysis of a region but should be of practical value to governments and enterprises whose foundations and futures rest upon the facts which the data analyzed reveal.

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and Engineering.*

PRINCIPLES OF AGRICULTURAL CREDIT. By Virgil P. Lee. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1930. 405 pp. \$4.00.

All too often in the past credit has been extended with little regard for sound principles of issue and without the guiding influence of sane and definite policies. Like Topsy, credit "wasn't brought up, it just growed up." As one result of this general condition, the world's pathway of economic progress is strewed with business failures that have resulted from the unwise use of credit. Economic students and writers have given entirely too little thought, study, and attention to credit. Happily, formal texts treating of credit are beginning to appear, innumerable credit

pamphlets and articles are coming from the press, and both students and business firms are turning their attention to various phases of credit as material for original research and study. All of this attention can but have a salutary effect upon the use and extension of credit in the future.

In this study by Dr. Lee, agriculture is fortunate in having a careful analysis and presentation of the principles involved in the use of credit by this major industry. Because of the thoroughness and high quality of this initial study of agricultural credit principles, future publications dealing with this subject must of necessity be on a high plane. Students of agricultural credit should be profoundly grateful to the author for sparing them the usual flood of second-rate publications that are so customary whenever new topics of research and study are undertaken.

Throughout the eighteen chapters, the principles of agricultural credit are systematically and progressively developed. The importance of credit to agriculture is discussed in the opening chapter and the five remaining parts of the study are, in regular sequence: the investor, or source of credit; the borrower, or farmer; banking institutions as sources of farm credit; the cost of credit; and, finally, government and agricultural credit.

The need for an adequate college text for courses in agricultural finance is amply met by this publication. Both college students and instructors will welcome the orderly and concise teaching of agricultural credit principles made possible through the intelligent use of this formal treatment of the subject.

CLIFTON J. BRADLEY.
University of Kentucky.

THE COMMONWEALTH: ITS FOUNDATIONS AND PILLOWS.
By Bishop Charles Henry Brent. New York: Appleton and Co., 1930. 178 pp. \$2.00.

More than a year has passed since the death of Bishop Brent, one of the few clericals of international fame. The last days of the bishop's life were spent in revising a series of five lectures which he had previously given in Scotland. The lectures were entitled *The Commonwealth*, and the main idea running through the series is that of a reunited Christian Church influencing and rebuilding a world society. Bishop Brent, as is well known, literally died in his strenuous efforts toward effecting a union of the two hundred and two separate denominations now existing in Protestantism.

The Commonwealth contains five lectures entitled: Our Human Inheritance, Our Divine Resources, Our Opportunities, Our Perils, and Christ the Uncrowned King. The word 'commonwealth' is used by the writer to mean what Jesus meant by his expression 'Kingdom of God.' It is that ideal of human life in its social and spiritual aspects toward which the prophets and sociologists are looking. This ideal is to be attained by the united cooperation and efforts of men everywhere, in all realms of endeavor,—industrial, racial, educational, political, religious. With a world torn by confusion and strife, the bishop thinks that never before was an opportunity so tremendous for the achievement of the social good. He stresses the weaknesses of our divisions, especially in our religious life, the various shortcomings of our disunited Christianity. He urges a divine society as the goal of our preaching and practice, not merely a religion of individualism in faith and creed. The Catholic idea of one Church transcending all local and national boundaries would be the one agent in bringing order out of chaos in this perplexed world. Toward this end all men and material forces must work, from the man with his pick and shovel to the

potentate with his imperial sceptre. At present our religion seems threatened because of its many divisions, and, as a consequence, the various nations and peoples continue to be divided. Bishop Brent would have every social agency shot through and through with the Sermon on the Mount, wherein school, state, church, and all society would be guided by the golden rule.

The final lecture challenges all men and nations to accept Christ as the hope of our race. Then a reunited Christian Church will lead the whole world into that social and spiritual order which we can call the Commonwealth of God.

C. E. ROZZELLE.

Chapel Hill, N. C.

THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN CIVILIZATION. By Charles S. Johnson. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1930. 538 pp. \$4.00.

Broader in scope, more accurate in detail, and more thorough in organization of material than any previous volume on the achievements of the Negro in America, Professor Johnson's book may be accepted as a source book of great value to the student of the economic and social life of the Negro of today. Cultural values are stressed. The Negro has reached a much higher stage of cultural advance in the days since he was thrust by emancipation, unprepared, into an entirely new social relation, than is generally believed. The material here gathered relative to his present status is presented as the result of studies by the interracial committee that was organized as preliminary to the Interracial Conference which was held in Washington in 1929, and also certain other studies developed by the newly organized department of social research at Fisk University, of which Professor Johnson is head. To Professor

Johnson alone belongs the responsibility for the classification and organization of the material presented.

There is a detailed and striking account of the rise of the Negro from a condition of almost total illiteracy into a condition of literacy, which, when viewed in the light of the time element and the obstructions placed in his way and the discriminations practiced against him may be regarded as a remarkable achievement. The passing of the Negro laborer from the status of agricultural producer to that of worker in general industry, a changing status greatly accelerated by the World War, is shown by figures that reveal the decrease of the numbers found on farms, owners, croppers, laborers, and the accompanying increases found in other industries. One important feature of this changing status that is stressed is that of the social import of the migration of large numbers of Negroes from the South to other parts of the country, making acute the race differentiations where hitherto but little recognition was given.

Other angles of the race question that come in for statistical treatment are those of the health of the Negro in its relation to the health of the community, the family relation, and the home life of the Negro. The latter item is given particularly in forming treatment, not only for the homes on the southern farm and the southern city, where segregation into sections abandoned by white citizens is the usual practice, but also for the industrial centers of the North to which he has emigrated. Finally, there is a clear-cut and unbiased study of the Negro as a citizen and the political rights accorded, or withheld from him.

These are only a selection of the topics gathered into usable form in this book. It is essentially a book of facts. Professor Johnson attempts few interpretations, few conclusions. That is left for

the reader. There is a second section into which is gathered a few of the more significant papers read at the Washington Conference. In these papers some interpretations are attempted. Louis I. Dublin of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company discusses the health of the Negro from the standpoint of the insurance risk. W. E. B. DuBois attempts some interpretations of the political status of the Negro but some of his conclusions seem to be open to doubt when measured by the facts gathered in the major portion of the book.

G. O. MUDGE.

Raleigh, N. C.

THE NEGRO PEASANT TURNS CITYWARD. By Louise Venable Kennedy. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. 270 pp. \$4.25.

The migration of the Negro to the North is one of the most significant movements in our modern life. Numerous studies of various phases of this migration have been made, and now Miss Kennedy brings together, arranges, and evaluates all of the existing data on the subject. The book lays no claim to originality in the sense of contributing new material, but it is a skillfully compiled and carefully edited work which will save the student of Negro migration many tedious hours of labor.

Opening with a short section on the background of Negro migrations, the causes of migration, and a description of the various sources of information on the migration, Miss Kennedy proceeds to devote the remainder of the book to the economic and social effects of the migration. The range of the data may be indicated by the titles used: Occupations, Wages and Hours of Labor; Race Contacts Involved in the Industrialization of the Negro; The Negro's Industrial Achievement; Demographic Readjustment of the Negro Population; the Housing of Northern Negroes; Vital Statistics and Health; The Social Maladjustment of the Negro; The

Negro and Northern Institutions; Migration and Social Contacts.

The method used in presenting the material is commendable. First the author states her generalization on a certain subject. Then she introduces extensive quotations or summaries of other works bearing upon the subject, the latter being segregated from her own opinion by indentation. A numbered bibliography of 159 titles which accompanies the work is

made all the more useful by an added subject matter list in which references are cited by title number and page number.

All in all, Miss Kennedy's work is a veritable mine of information on the condition of the Negro in the North, and it should be in the hands of every teacher or research worker who is interested in the Negro.

GUY B. JOHNSON.

University of North Carolina.

NEW BOOKS RECEIVED

THE SECOND TWENTY YEARS AT HULL HOUSE. By Jane Addams. New York: Macmillan, 1930. 413 pp. \$4.00.

THE HISTORY OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN COLLEGES FOR WOMEN. By Dorothy S. Ainsworth. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1930. 116 pp. \$2.00.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF IMAGINATION IN THE PRESCHOOL CHILD. By Elizabeth Gordon Andrews. (University of Iowa Studies, Volume III, No. 4), Iowa City: The University, 1930. 64 pp. \$1.00.

FARM CHILDREN (AN INVESTIGATION OF RURAL CHILD LIFE IN SELECTED AREAS OF IOWA). By Bird T. Baldwin, Eva A. Fillmore, and Lora Hadley. New York: Appleton, 1930. 337 pp. Illustrated. \$4.00.

MIXED MARRIAGE. By Margaret Culkin Banning. New York: Harpers, 1930. 317 pp.

GOLDEN TALES OF THE OLD SOUTH. Selected with an Introduction by May Lamberton Becker. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1930. 348 pp. \$2.50.

AN INTRODUCTION TO HUMAN PROBLEMS. By Harold Benjamin. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930. 472 pp. \$2.75.

LABOR AND THE SHERMAN ACT. By Edward Berman. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1930. 332 pp. \$3.00.

CRIME AND THE CRIMINAL LAW IN THE UNITED STATES. By Harry Best. New York: Macmillan, 1930. 615 pp. \$6.50.

RESPONSIBLE DRINKING. By Robert C. Binkley. New York: Vanguard Press, 1930. 215 pp.

RESEARCH IN PUBLIC FINANCE IN RELATION TO AGRICULTURE—SCOPE AND METHOD. By John D. Black. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1930. 174 pp. \$.75 (Paper).

FOLK-SAY: A REGIONAL MISCELLANY, 1930. Ed. by B. A. Botkin. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1930. 473 pp. Illustrated. \$5.00.

CHINESE FARM ECONOMY. By John Lossing Buck. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930. 476 pp. \$5.00.

SOME FOLKS WON'T WORK. By Clinch Calkins. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1930. 202 pp. \$1.50.

HEREDITY. By F. A. E. Crew. New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, 1930. 115 pp. \$.60.

THE BOOK OF MY LIFE. By Jerome Cardan. Tr. by Jean Stoner. New York: Dutton, 1930. 331 pp. \$3.50.

DANIEL WEBSTER AS AN ECONOMIST. By Robert Lincoln Carey. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. 220 pp. \$3.50.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. Vol. I (From Handicraft to Factory, 1500-1820). By Harry J. Carman. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1930. 616 pp. Illustrated.

COMMUNITY PLANNING IN UNEMPLOYMENT EMERGENCIES. Compiled by Joanna C. Colcord. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1930. 86 pp. \$.25 (Paper).

CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL MOVEMENTS. By Jerome Davis. New York: Century, 1930. 901 pp.

PROTESTANT COOPERATION IN AMERICAN CITIES. By Paul Douglass. New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1930. 514 pp. \$3.50.

INTRAMURAL ATHLETICS. By Marian Draper and George Mimms Smith. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1930. 137 pp. \$1.00.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SOCIAL SURVEYS. By Allen Eaton and Shelby M. Harrison. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1930. 467 pp. \$3.50.

METHODS OF CORRELATION ANALYSIS. By Mordecai Ezekiel. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1930. 427 pp. \$4.50.

AN INTRODUCTION TO REGIONAL SURVEYING. By C. C. Fagg and G. E. Hutchings. London: Cambridge University Press, 1930. 150 pp. 3/9 (In the U. S., The Macmillan Co., New York).

SUCCESS. By Lion Feuchtwanger. New York: Viking Press, 1930. 781 pp. \$3.00.

UNIVERSITIES. American, English, German. By Abraham Flexner. New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1930. 381 pp.

NATIONALITY LAWS. Ed. by Richard W. Flounoy, Jr. and Manley O. Hudson. New York: Oxford University Press, 1930. 776 pp.

A HISTORY OF MINNESOTA. By William Watts Folwell. Saint Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1930. 575 pp.

LIFE IN COLLEGE. By Christian Gauss. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930. 272 pp. \$2.50.

THE PLACE OF AGRICULTURE IN AMERICAN LIFE. By Wilson Gee. New York: Macmillan Company, 1930. 217 pp. \$2.00.

MANUAL FOR TEACHERS OF ADULT ILLITERATES. By William S. Gray. Washington, D. C.: National Advisory Committee on Illiteracy, 1930. 166 pp.

THE NEGRO WAGE EARNER. By Lorenzo J. Greene and Carter G. Woodson. Washington: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc., 1930. 388 pp. \$3.25.

THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN OF THE SOVIET UNION. By G. T. Grinko. New York: International Publishers, 1930. 338 pp. \$3.50.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS IN THE BUILDING INDUSTRY. By William Haber. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930. 592 pp. \$5.00.

SOCIAL WORK YEAR BOOK, 1929. Ed. by Fred S. Hall and Mabel B. Ellis. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1930. 600 pp. \$4.00.

SOCIAL LAWS: A STUDY OF THE VALIDITY OF SOCIOLOGICAL GENERALIZATIONS. By Kyung Durk Har. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1930. 256 pp. \$4.00.

THE UNITED STATES OF EUROPE. By Edouard Herriot. New York: Viking Press, 1930. 330 pp. \$3.50.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF ECONOMICS TO SOCIAL WORK. By Amy Hewes. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. 135 pp. \$2.00.

BIBLICAL INFORMATION IN RELATION TO CHARACTER AND CONDUCT. By Pleasant Roscoe Hightower. Iowa City, Iowa: University of Iowa, 1930. 72 pp. University of Iowa Studies in Character.

PRISONS AND PRISON BUILDING. By Alfred Hopkins. New York: Architectural Book Publishing Co., Inc., 1930. 140 pp. \$5.00.

SALARIES AND VACATIONS IN FAMILY CASE WORK IN 1929. By Ralph Hurlin. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1930. 24 pp. 10 cents.

FOLK CULTURE ON ST. HELENA ISLAND. By Guy B. Johnson. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1930. 183 pp. \$3.00.

THE SCIENCE OF FOLKLORE. By Alexander Haggerty Krappe. New York: The Dial Press, 1930. 344 pp. \$4.00.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. By E. T. Krueger and Walter C. Reckless. New York: Longmans, Green, 1931. 578 pp. \$3.00.

BIRTH REGISTRATION AND BIRTH STATISTICS IN CANADA. By Robert R. Kuczynski. Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institution, 1930. 219 pp. \$3.00.

KNOWLEDGE, BELIEF AND OPINION. By John Laird. New York: Century, 1930. 515 pp. \$4.00.

PSYCHOPATHOLOGY AND POLITICS. By Harold D. Lasswell. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930. 285 pp. \$3.00.

THE THIRD DYNASTY. By Emanuel H. Lavine. New York: Vanguard Press, 1930. 248 pp. \$2.00.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS: TEN YEARS OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION, Geneva, 1930. Boston: World Peace Foundation, American Distributors. 467 pp. \$3.50.

FOLK TALES OF ALL NATIONS. Edited by F. H. Lee. New York: Coward-McCann, 1930. 947 pp. \$3.00.

THE FIELD OF PHILOSOPHY. By Joseph A. Leighton. New York: Appleton, 1930 (Fourth edition, revised and enlarged). 639 pp. \$3.50.

THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC VIEWS OF MR. JUSTICE BRANDEIS. Collected, with Introductory Notes, by Alfred Lief. With a Foreword by Charles A. Beard. New York: Vanguard Press, 1930. 419 pp. \$4.50.

THE ATTITUDES OF CHILDREN TOWARD LAW. By Earl G. Lockhart. Iowa City, Iowa: University of Iowa, 1930. 61 pp. University of Iowa Studies in Character.

THE INTERNATIONAL MANDATES. By Aaron M. Margalith. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1930. 242 pp. \$2.50.

THE SECRETARY'S GUIDE TO CORRECT MODERN USAGE. By C. O. Sylvester Mawson. New York: Crowell, 1930. 213 pp. \$2.00.

THEORY AND PRACTICE OF GROUP WORK. By Joseph C. McCaskill. New York: Association Press, 1930. 165 pp.

A SCALE FOR MEASURING SOCIAL ADEQUACY. By Mary Josephine McCormick. Washington, D. C.: National Catholic School of Social Service, 1930. 73 pp. (Social Science Monographs, I, No. 3.)

ETHICAL TEACHINGS IN THE LATIN HYMNS OF MEDIEVAL ENGLAND. By Ruth Ellis Messenger. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. 210 pp. \$3.50.

THE CHURCH AND INDUSTRY. By Spencer Miller, Jr. and Joseph F. Fletcher. New York: Longmans, Green, 1930. 273 pp. \$2.50.

THE AGE OF HATE: ANDREW JOHNSON AND THE RADICALS. By George Fort Milton. New York: Coward-McCann, 1930. 787 pp. \$5.00.

LIFE AND LABOUR IN A SOUTH GUJARAT VILLAGE. By C. C. Mukhtyar. Ed. by C. N. Vakil. New York: Longmans, Green, 1930. 292 pp.

KING COTTON IS SICK. By Claudius T. Murchison. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1930. 190 pp. \$1.00.

PHYSICAL EDUCATION FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS. By N. P. Neilson and Winifred Van Hagen. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1930. 365 pp. \$2.00.

MASTERS' ESSAYS IN HISTORY. By Allen Nevins. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. 24 pp. 25 cents.

JAPAN'S ECONOMIC POSITION. By John E. Orchard. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1930. 504 pp. Illustrated. \$5.00.

THE BEGINNINGS OF CRITICAL REALISM IN AMERICA, 1860-1920. By Vernon Louis Parrington. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1930. 429 pp. \$4.00.

BULGARIA'S ECONOMIC POSITION. By Leo Pasvolsky. Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1930. 409 pp. \$3.00.

CHINA (THE COLLAPSE OF A CIVILIZATION). By Nathaniel Peffer. New York: John Day Company, 1930. 306 pp.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND PROOFS OF THE PRINCIPLE OF POPULATION. By Francis Place. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930. 354 pp. \$4.50.

THE PROPHET OF SAN FRANCISCO (PERSONAL MEMORIES AND INTERPRETATIONS OF HENRY GEORGE). By Louis F. Post. New York: Vanguard Press, 1930. 335 pp. \$3.00.

GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE YOUNG CHILD. By Winifred Rand, Mary E. Sweeny, E. Lee Vincent. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1930. 394 pp. Illustrated. \$2.75.

I REMEMBER. By Opie Read. New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1930. 335 pp.

METHODS IN SOCIAL SCIENCE. Edited by Stuart A. Rice. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931. 822 pp. \$4.50.

THE LONG VIEW. By Mary E. Richmond. Papers and Addresses selected and edited by Joanna C. Colcord and Ruth Z. S. Mann. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1930. 648 pp. \$3.00.

AMERICA MOVES WEST. By Robert E. Riegel. New York: Holt, 1930. 595 pp.

A CHANGING PSYCHOLOGY IN SOCIAL CASE WORK. By Virginia P. Robinson. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1930. 204 pp. \$2.50.

THE CONQUEST OF HAPPINESS. By Bertrand Russell. New York: Horace Liveright, 1930. 249 pp. \$3.00.

SCIENCE AND THE SCIENTIFIC MIND. By Leo E. Saidla and Warren E. Gibbs. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1930. 506 pp.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE WORLD POPULATION CONFERENCE, 1927. Ed. by Margaret Sanger. London: Edward Arnold and Company, 1927. 383 pp. 20 s. net.

AN INTRODUCTORY STUDY OF THE FAMILY. By Edgar Schmiedeler. New York, Century, 1930. 384 pp. (The Century Catholic College Texts.)

MANAGEMENT PROBLEMS (WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY). Edited by G. T. Schwenning. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1930. 264 pp. \$2.00.

PO' BUCKRA. By Gertrude Mathews Shelby and Samuel Gaillard Stoney. New York: Macmillan, 1930. 426 pp. \$2.50.

THE FOREST SERVICE (SERVICE MONOGRAPHS OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT No. 58). By Darrell Hevenor Smith. Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1930. 268 pp. \$2.00.

A SYSTEMATIC SOURCE BOOK IN RURAL SOCIOLOGY. Vol. I. By P. A. Sorokin, C. C. Zimmerman, and C. J. Galpin. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1930. 645 pp.

PUBLIC HEALTH ORGANIZATION IN THE CHICAGO REGION. By Robert E. Steadman. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930. 279 pp. \$3.00.

LEWIS HENRY MORGAN: SOCIAL EVOLUTIONIST. By Bernhard J. Stern. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931. 221 pp. \$2.50.

AN INTRODUCTION TO PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY. By E. P. Stibbe. New York: Longmans, Green, 1930. 199 pp.

THE GOVERNMENT OF METROPOLITAN AREAS. Prepared by Paul Studenski with the Assistance of the Committee on Metropolitan Government. New York: National Municipal League, 1930. 403 pp.

PRE-WAR AMERICA. By Mark Sullivan. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930. \$5.00.

GENETIC STUDIES OF GENIUS. Vol. III. The Promise of Youth. Ed. by Lewis M. Terman. Stanford University, California: Stanford University Press, 1930. 508 pp. \$6.00.

JEB STUART. By Captain John W. Thomason, Jr. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930. 512 pp. Illustrated. \$5.00.

THOREAU: PHILOSOPHER OF FREEDOM. *WRITINGS ON LIBERTY* BY HENRY DAVID THOREAU. Selected, with an Introduction, by James Mackaye. New York: Vanguard Press, 1930. 288 pp. \$4.00.

THE DEPENDENT CHILD. By Henry W. Thurston. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. 337 pp. \$3.00.

PREPARATION OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL PAPERS. By Sam F. Trelease and Emma Sarepta Yule. Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins, 1930. 117 pp. \$1.50.

MEXICO AND HER FOREIGN CREDITORS. By Edgar Turlington. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. 449 pp. \$6.00.

ANTI-SLAVERY SENTIMENT IN AMERICAN LITERATURE PRIOR TO 1865. By Lorenzo Dow Turner. Washington, D. C.: Assn. for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1930. 188 pp.

I'LL TAKE MY STAND (THE SOUTH AND THE AGRARIAN TRADITION). By Twelve Southerners. New York: Harper, 1930. 359 pp. \$3.00.

POPULATION PROBLEM OF INDIA (WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO FOOD SUPPLY). By B. T. Ranadive. Ed. by C. N. Vakil. New York and London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1930. 216 pp.

THE WORLD OF THE BLIND (A PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY). By Pierre Villey. New York: Macmillan, 1930. 403 pp. \$2.25.

STUDENT PARTICIPATION IN SCHOOL GOVERNMENT. By Jerry J. Vineyard and Charles F. Poole. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1930. 104 pp. \$1.00.

JOHN WESLEY. By John Donald Wade. New York: Coward-McCann, 1930. 301 pp. \$3.00.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND SOCIAL REFORM SINCE 1854. By Donald O. Wagner. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. 341 pp. \$5.25.

CULTURE AND PROGRESS. By Wilson D. Wallis. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1930. 503 pp. \$5.00.

THE SUBSTANCE OF THE SOCIOLOGY OF LESTER F. WARD. Summarized by Clement Wood. New York: Vanguard Press, 1930. 183 pp. \$.75.

THE PLANT QUARANTINE AND CONTROL ADMINISTRATION (ITS HISTORY, ACTIVITIES, AND ORGANIZATION). By Gustavus A. Weber. Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institute, 1930. 198 pp. \$1.50.

SOUTHERN COMMERCIAL CONVENTIONS. By Herbert Wender. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1930. 240 pp. \$2.00.

ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY. By R. H. Whitbeck and V. C. Finch. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1930. 565 pp. Illustrated.

TAMBO AND BONES. By Carl Wittke. Durham: Duke University Press, 1930. 269 pp. \$2.50.

GUIDANCE AT WORK IN THE SCHOOLS OF CRAVEN COUNTY, N. C. By Harriette Wood and Anne Pruitt. Richmond, Virginia: Southern Woman's Educational Alliance, 1930. 101 pp. Mimeographed. \$.50.

CRIMINAL DIVISION PROBATION IN THE MUNICIPAL COURT OF PHILADELPHIA. Report prepared by George E. Worthington. Philadelphia: Thomas Skelton Harrison Foundation, 1930. 42 pp. (Bureau of Municipal Research, 311 South Juniper St., Philadelphia.)

SOURCES OF COAL AND TYPES OF STOKERS AND BURNERS USED BY ELECTRIC PUBLIC UTILITY POWER PLANTS. By William Harvey Young. Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institution, 1930. 79 pp. \$.50 (Paper).

CITY BOSSSES IN THE UNITED STATES. By Harold Zink. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1930. 371 pp. Illustrated. \$4.00.

THE EUGENICS RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

A critical survey of data relevant to eugenics research is now being prepared under the auspices of The Eugenics Research Association. Mr. Frederick Osborn, Treasurer of the Association, is Chairman of the Committee in charge of this project. The publication date is tentatively set as January to March, 1932.

In the Eugenics Research Survey special attention will be given to the data bearing upon the operation of social factors affecting the differential natural increase of population groups under different social conditions (demogenics). Dr. Frank Lorimer is in charge of this section of the survey.

The Association will be grateful for the receipt of notices of new research, completed or in process, having possible bearing upon problems of eugenics research, especially in its social aspects. Communications may be addressed to Eugenics Research Survey, American Museum of Natural History, West 77th Street, New York City.